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ABSTRACT

This survey was prompted by the need to examine the community colleges in their attempts to adopt Black Studies programs as a result of the national emergence of Black Studies in 4-year colleges and universities. Official documents, personal statements from educators, and student opinion, together with a questionnaire, periodicals, newspapers, and bibliographic search of the literature make up the sources on which this survey is based. The major findings of the survey are: (1) Black Studies courses are widespread, (2) enrollments are adequate, (3) enrollments consist of black students with a sprinkling of non-blacks, (4) instructors are predominantly black, and (5) control of the Black Studies programs is in the hands of the blacks. This report of the survey includes a complete discussion of the origins of Black Studies, curriculum development practices and enrollment, and continuing issues. Useful references for those interested in implementing a Black Studies program are listed in the bibliography. (Author/CA)

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Final Report

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BLACK STUDIES IN THE COMMUNITY COLLEGES: A SURVEY

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SUMMARY

This survey was prompted by the need to examine the community colleges in their attempts to adopt Black Studies programs as a result of the national emergence of Black Studies in colleges and universities. To accomplish this examination a research instrument and a variety of materials were relied upon for information.

A one-page questionnaire was addressed to the 807 institutional members of the American Association of Junior Colleges (AAJC) in the fifty states and the District of Columbia. The AAJC is the leading professional organization in the junior colleges field--nearly 80% of the colleges replied and 67% (543 questionnaires) of the replies were returned in some usable form. In some instances the questionnaire responses were represented in tables according to the six geographic regions of the United States which form the territories of the six regional accrediting associations, but the respondent colleges were not necessarily accredited by the associations.

One of the most important sources used in this survey were community college catalogs which contain a history of the community and sometimes outline in considerable detail the relationships of the college and the community. They also include a history of the college which emphasizes the reason for its establishment, the growth in enrollment, and the trends for the immediate future. Further, catalogs contain a statement of educational objectives, followed by the philosophy and the purpose of the institution.

These introductory statements represent not only the plans, hopes and aspirations of the college staff, but the distillation of current thinking of educational leaders. In these statements a rationale is created for the educational programs which the college offers. How the staff translates the general statements into programs, courses, and curriculums can be determined by an examination of the offerings which are outlined at length. A comparative study of a college's catalogs for the last three years can be instructive in determining Black Studies curriculum trends and from the trends, tentative conclusions about the future can be drawn. In predicting trends the reader's attention must be directed also to political, social, and economic influences. One of the most far-reaching of these influences on the curriculum has been the student revolt of the last decade and the emergence of Black Studies as one of its results.

Other institutional publications were used. Official pronouncements such as announcements, brochures, and class schedules further identified the aims, objectives and philosophy which translated themselves into Black Studies programs.

In many instances statements from community college educators provided first-hand accounts of the events surrounding the implementation of Black Studies in their colleges. Black students and Black organzations published an abundance of flyers, student demands, and position papers covering the whole range of student opinion.

These official documents, personal statements from educators, and student opinion together with the questionnaire, periodicals, newspapers, and a bibliographic search of the literature make up the sources upon which this survey is based.

The major findings of the survey are:

1. Black Studies courses are widespread.
2. Enrollments are adequate.
3. Enrollments consist of black students with a sprinkling of non-blacks.
4. Instructors are predominately black.
5. Control of the Black Studies programs is in the hands of the blacks.

Additional findings reveal that Black Studies has influenced other minority or ethnic studies programs and that regular courses are being infused with the Black Experience.

A more complete discription of the findings is incorporated as a summary at the end of each section.

This survey gathered general data on the extent of Black Studies courses in the community colleges and selective information on a limited number of colleges. A more comprehensive survey on a large sampling of colleges is needed to secure definitive data on the enrollments over a period of two or more semesters and on the ethnic composition of the students and instructors.

A grant from the United States Office of Education to Arthur M. Cohen, Director of the ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges, enabled this survey of Black Studies in the Junior Colleges to be undertaken.

Without the information supplied by willing administrators in the junior colleges who responded to the questionnaire, and the time donated by many college presidents and other college officials to correspondence with the investigating staff, this report would not have been possible.

An advisory board collectively and individually provided the project staff with their expertise and advice. Also assistance with certain aspects of the survey was provided by staff members of the Afro-American Studies Center, UCLA. The Center is presently in the midst of doing a survey on Black Study Centers at the college and university level, nationwide, with the cooperation of Kansas State University. The survey will cover those states west of the Mississippi; Kansas is surveying those east of the Mississippi.

Guidance in all phases of the research was provided by Dr. Arthur M. Cohen, Principal Investigator, and Dr. Florence B. Brawer, ERIC Coordinator of Special Projects. Able administration of the research was rendered by Edgar A. Quimby and Joyce Durden, project assistants. In addition, appreciation is expressed to Ann Starkweather for editorial assistance, and the staff of the ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges sor the many tasks they performed which aided in the successful completion of this project.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

A survey of Black Studies in American community junior colleges was conducted as part of a study, funded by the U. S. Office of Education, to furnish targeted audiences in the junior college field with information about the development and implementation of Black Studies in two year colleges. This report is a summary of that survey.

Since the development and implementation of Black Studies, learning opportunities in two year colleges has clearly outdistanced efforts to understand the phenomena that gave rise to them. This survey was designed as a formative effort "to get a handle" on practices within the field; therefore, no exhaustive attempt is made in this report to distinguish between promising or unpromising practices of present institutional policy.

The questionnaire (See Appendix A) provided base line data for the survey by allowing community colleges to respond in terms of a very loose definition of Black Studies or, to indicate a greater emphasis on Black Contributions and accomplishments to society. Black Studies for this survey was defined as "courses of instruction which deal directly with the culture, history, sociology, psychology, language, etc. of the Black man." In their replies respondents were asked to take into consideration traditional African area studies and languages as well as more recent courses in what is described generally as "Black Experience." Where respondents indicated that there were no Black Studies courses at their colleges, they were asked: "Insofar as you know, have any of your college courses of instruction been placing greater emphasis--since the mid-1960s--on the Blacks' contribution to and accomplishments in American society?" A positive reply to this question was interpreted as involvement in Black Studies; an interpretation that may be questionable.

The results of the survey suggest the Black Studies movement on American community colleges has made an impact. By the end of the school year 1969-1970, nearly 45% (242 institutions) of the colleges participating in the survey claimed to offer at least one course of instruction under the rubric of Black Studies. An additional 31% (160 colleges) of the respondents--at institutions which did not offer Black Studies courses--reported that since the mid-1960s their traditional course offerings have been placing greater emphasis on the Black man's contributions to and accomplishments in American society. (See Table 1)

California, whose colleges and universities dominate the two-state member institutions of higher learning in the Western Association of Schools and Colleges, has the heaviest concentration of colleges offering Black Studies courses--all 61 colleges reporting Black Studies courses were in California. Of the respondent institutions in the state, 75% indicated that they were planning to offer Black Studies courses in the near future as did nine other California junior colleges. Colleges in Hawaii, the other state comprising the Western Association, did not report offering Black Studies courses.

Table I

BLACK STUDIES IN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

COLLEGES 1969-1970, BY ACCREDITING REGION (N=543)

ACCREDITING REGION	New England	Middle States	Southern	North Central	North-west	Western	Total
Number of respondent colleges	33	81	135	183	30	81	543
Number of colleges offering Black Studies courses	16	52	34	61	18	61	242
Number of colleges (without Black Studies courses) that have been emphasizing, since the mid-1960s, the Black man's contributions and accomplishments	8	22	45	70	9	14	168
No Black Studies or no response	9	7	56	52	3	6	133

Though other regions of the country have not become so deeply involved as California in the development of Black Studies courses, the growth elsewhere has been remarkable. In the Middle States, for example, 64% of the respondent colleges offered Black Studies courses in 1969-1970, while nine other institutions expected to establish courses in the next year or two. Almost half of the responding colleges in New England offer Black Studies courses now, while 60% of the colleges in the Northwest have Black Studies course offerings underway.

The emergence of Black Studies courses in the North Central region and the Southern colleges has not kept pace with developments in the four other regions. A third of the North Central colleges and 25% of the Southern colleges reported offering at least one course in Black Studies in 1969-1970. Significantly, though, in both of these regions a sizeable number of colleges--21 in the South and 22 in the North Central states--were planning to offer courses in Black Studies within the next few school years. Moreover, in North Central and Southern community college curriculums there apparently has been an upsurge of interest in the Black Experience during the past two years. (See Table II)

To find community colleges so heavily involved in the development of Black Studies courses of instruction was not expected; though it was assumed many colleges would indicate that their curriculums were now placing more emphasis on the history and culture of Black America, a socially desirable and impractical to challenge response. That the adoption of discrete courses of instruction under the rubric of Black Studies has been the chief means by which community colleges have approached this ethno-curricular innovation is not surprising, since the

graded course is, generally, the principal type of learning opportunity that is dealt with in junior college curriculum planning.

Table II

FIRST YEAR BLACK STUDIES COURSES OFFERED IN

TWO YEAR COLLEGES (N=239)

ACCREDITING REGION	1966-67 and before	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70
New England (N=16)			6	10
Middle States (N=54)	3	4	27	20
Southern (N=31)	2	4	9	16
North Central (N=60)	7	5	27	21
Northwest (N=18)	2	2	6	8
Western (N=60)	9	9	25	17
Total	23	24	100	92

Widespread adoption of Black Studies courses in community colleges started less than three years ago. Before 1965 only ten of the respondent colleges (five in California, two in Illinois, and one each in Alabama, Michigan and Washington) claimed to offer courses that dealt with Black--read "Negro"--or African history and culture. Even by Spring, 1967, only 23 of the respondent colleges were offering courses in Black Studies. The pace quickened somewhat during 1967-68; for by the Spring of that year, 47 of the respondent institutions had adopted Black Studies courses. But in 1968-69, the school year immediately following Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination, 100 of the respondent colleges inaugurated their first course in Black Studies. By Spring 1970 another 95 of the respondent colleges had adopted their first courses of instruction in Black Studies. (See Table III)

At the very least, the data point to formative efforts by community colleges to keep abreast of contemporary social reality. Possibly the study of Black America in one form or another is becoming commonplace in

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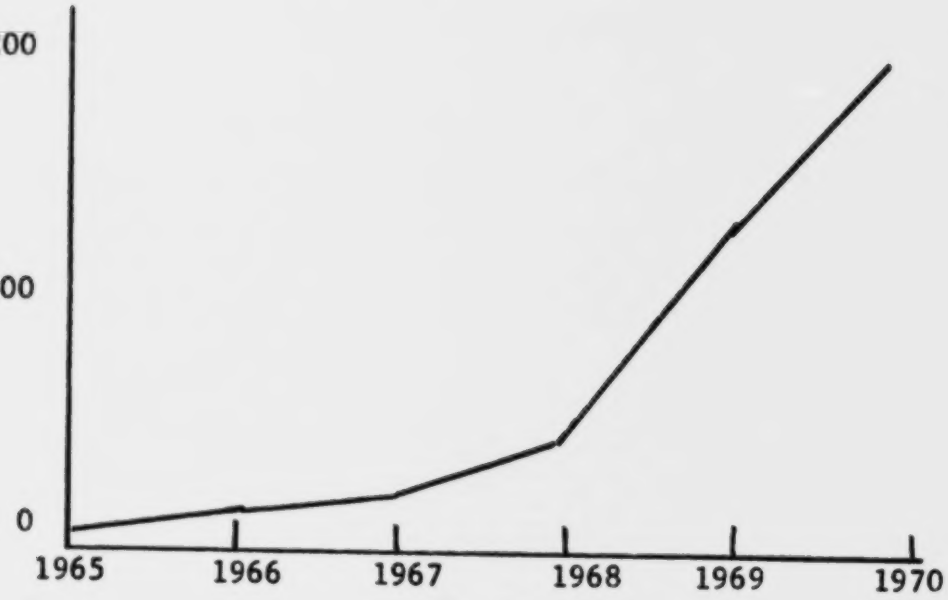
American community colleges, because they enroll most of the black students pursuing post-secondary education. Moreover, community colleges have dealt more directly with the aims of the Black Studies movement than any other level of American schooling.

Table III

THE GROWTH OF BLACK STUDIES

IN TWO YEAR COLLEGES, 1965-1970



The Black Studies movement of the 1960s was addressed first of all to the needs of black students. So it was decided to distinguish between the development of Black Studies learning opportunities on predominantly non-black campuses from their development at colleges with significant black enrollments. But what constitutes a <u>significant</u> black enrollment on a community college campus?

Respondents were asked to estimate the percentage of black students enrolled at their colleges. A balloon effect was anticipated in these estimates so respondents were also asked to indicate whether they had completed an ethnic survey in 1969-1970. Given the contemporary interest in ethnic relations as well as the provisions of recent civil rights legislation, it was expected that current ethnic surveys would be available from most colleges as a check on the balloon effect. This turned out to be an erroneous assumption; only a handful of respondents reported that they had undertaken ethnic surveys during the past academic year (indeed, one respondent from a Southern community college requested information about the meaning and use of ethnic surveys!). Consequently, reports of black student enrollments are reasonable guesses.

Of the 543 responding institutions, 83% were predominantly non-black campuses; that is, their estimated black student enrollments were 10% or less of the whole student body. Ninety-one colleges, however,

did indicate that their black student enrollments exceeded ten percent. These as colleges were designated "significant" black enrollments. Still colleges with "significant" black student enrollments have not been adopting Black Studies courses more readily than colleges where less than 10% of the students are black. This has been the case with the small colleges as well as the large ones. (See Table IV).

Table IV

BLACK STUDENT ENROLLMENTS EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF

TOTAL STUDENT ENROLLMENTS IN 543 TWO YEAR COLLEGES, 1969-1970

ACCREDITING REGION	0-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31%+
New England (N=33)	32	1		
Middle States (N=81)	65	9	3	4
Southern (N=135)	87	30	11	7
North Central (N=183)	169	10	1	3
Northwest (N=30)	30			
Western (N=81)	69	5	2	5
Total	452	55	17	19

Distinguishing between predominantly non-black campuses from colleges with significant black enrollments did not yield any especially useful information about the development of Black Studies, except that, Black Studies courses are now being offered in most of the large community colleges (5,000 or more students in California institutions, 3,000 or more students elsewhere) throughout the nation irrespective of the percentage of black students enrolled.

About 20% of all two year colleges in the country are large institutions in terms of student enrollments; and in at least one respect, they are key institutions since they enroll collectively more than half of all community college students in the United States. Three-fourths (138) of these large colleges returned responses. By definition, 115 of them were "non-Black campuses" in 1969-1970. The other 23 were colleges

with what was termed "significant" black enrollments. Black Studies courses were offered on 98 or 85% of the large non-black campuses in 1969-1970; all but two colleges--both Southern based institutions--of the 23 large community colleges with significant black enrollments offered at least one course in Black Studies during 1969-1970. (Ten of the large non-black colleges, moreover, reported that they would be developing Black Studies courses in the near future, though neither of the two colleges in the South with significant black enrollments indicated that they planned to develop such learning opportunities.)

To provide the field with some genuinely useful information about the relationship between black students and Black Studies, precise enrollment figures on black students was needed and the definition of a "non-Black" college used in this survey had to be modified to indicate that a black student enrollment of 8% at a college with 10,000 students is probably more significant than a black student enrollment of 50% at a two year institution with a student body of fewer than a thousand students.

Too few respondents indicated that their colleges had undertaken recent ethnic surveys. The latest data collection by the U.S. Office for Civil Rights on ethnic compositions of college student bodies is three years old and it is not altogether reliable. Another discovery found virtually no national longitudinal data (see Chapter III, section on enrollment for the New York State Survey) on black student enrollments in two year colleges that covered the three years in which Black Studies courses emerged in so many community colleges. As a result, any attempts to draw inferences from the relationship between size of the black student constituency on a campus and the development of Black Studies courses must be viewed with caution. In a later section a sampling of enrollment data from colleges is included.

One tentative conclusion, however, emerged from attempts to secure reliable data on black student enrollments in community colleges; some, possibly many, of these colleges have been enrolling an increasing <u>percentage</u> of black students over the past three years. The changing racial composition of two year colleges may be best attributed to factors unrelated to the development of Black Studies; e.g., minority student recruitment campaigns, unemployment; but the implementation of Black Studies courses between 1967 and 1970 might have been stimulated at some colleges by a perceived upsurge in black student enrollments on the part of college officials. Certainly, the aims of the Black Studies movement have had a considerable impact on community colleges.

In addition to data collected from the questionnaire, the remainder of this report relied upon other information acquired through correspondence with community college educators, student position papers and demands, college announcements, flyers, and catalogs besides books and periodicals.

Chapter II

ORIGINS OF BLACK STUDIES

The origins of Black Studies, will be described as it pertains to the community college--the students, the faculty, community leaders, administrators. This does not imply that the community college operated independently of all other institutions and that it was not influenced by other segments of education. There is considerable evidence to the contrary that the movement for Black Studies in community colleges was influenced by the segregated churches, schools, and voluntary associations of the South; by the Black Power movement; and by the curriculum developments in the public schools and universities. However, insofar as possible evidence from community college sources, official documents, student publications, faculty statements, and reactions and attitudes to student demands will be used to clarify the origins of the community college, Black Studies programs.

Curriculum Reform

The introduction of Black Studies courses and the changes made in many of the traditional courses during the late 1960s constitute the most extensive modification of the community college curriculum since the addition of vocational-technical courses in the 1930s and 1940s. Although Dr. Laura Bornholdt, vice president of the Danforth Foundation, had university experiences in mind, her statement, "there is no parallel in the history of American higher education for the dramatic emergence of Black Studies," applies to the community colleges as well (Bornholdt, March 1970). Black Studies has been followed by courses and curriculums in Mexican-American, Latin-American, American Indian, Euro-American and Asian-American Studies. In some colleges Ethnic Studies programs embodying all of these have been instituted. Of the minority programs, however, Black Studies continues to be the most prominent and most widely adopted curriculum reform.

Concurrent with the addition of ethnic courses the content of liberal arts courses, especially in English, history, humanities, political science, psychology, and sociology, was broadened to include the place, contribution, and role of minorities in the United States and world history. This reform movement which involved additions to and revision of the curriculum of black activists, who were in the forefront of the Black Studies movement, accomplished what many educators were unable to do by exhortation (Lombardi, February 1970). Again quoting Dr. Bornholdt:

> Even should Black Studies prove a passing fancy in academe, the flurry will have left a permanent mark on the teaching of all its parts. Imaginations--black and white--have been stretched; black experience can never again be neglected as it once was by the academic world (Bornholdt, March 1970).

Contributions of the Segregated South

Black Studies have been traced as far back as the late 18th century when black intellectuals became "preoccupied with what they named 'racial vindication'" (Drake, July 1970).

The segregated institutions in the South--churches, schools, voluntary associations--"fostered a sense of security about identity and a high degree of solidarity" (ibid.), contributions that cannot be overemphasized. Before the 1954 Brown Supreme Court decision the segregated black schools and colleges were left pretty much on their own to develop their educational programs. As long as no disturbances occurred or no inflammatory speeches were made, the white educational authorities did not supervise these institutions very closely. Though their resources were never equal to those of the white schools, the black educators did provide black students with examples of professional success from which emerged the concept of the dignity and worth of black people. In the libraries students could read periodicals and books by blacks and about blacks. Essay contests on such topics as "The Negro and the Constitution" and "Frederick Douglass and the Constitution" also helped create pride in the role of blacks and black heroes (ibid.).

In these schools (as in the churches) blacks were in control. In these schools black identity was a reality. Teachers and principals were black. That some had to curry favor with whites does not detract from the many among them who told with fervor of the struggles and achievements of black heroes to free themselves and their people from the degradation in which they were placed. The black principal "provided a valuable image for black kids." More, "he shouldered the mantle of leadership in the black community...he was the only one with whom the power structure would deal.... Perhaps the greatest impact was upon the kids who observed and aped him...and dreamed of standing in his shoes ..." (James, September 26, 1970). From these schools emerged some of the leaders of the Civil Rights and the nationalist movement. (For a more extended treatment of this subject see St. Clair Drake, "Reflections on Black Studies." Expanded Paper Presented to the Danforth Workshop on Liberal Arts Education, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, July 1970. In addition, the project investigators are indebted to Dr. Sanford Bishop, President, Mobile State Junior College, Mobile, Alabama, a consultant of the Project.)

Contributions of the NAACP

As a result of the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and interested educators since the 1950s, the movement spread to other parts of the country. Negro history and literature courses were introduced into the high schools and elementary schools. Some school districts chose "the more difficult...route of systematically integrating information about minority groups into the total secondary curriculum." Negro History Week in the North produced a variety of programs which directed attention to the role of the Negro in American life (Allen and Weathersby, November 1969).

Because of close association with the public schools during this period, the community colleges also reflected this interest in the Negro. They introduced Negro history and literature courses and African history courses including the emergence of the independent African nations. In most instances these courses were taught by whites. Black instructors were scarce in the Northern community colleges before the 1960s.

This effort to arouse interest in the Negroes had two major objectives: 1) revision of textbooks to delete the erroneous stereotypes about Negroes to include "a more accurate and sympathetic account of Black participation in human history"; and 2) "enrichment of the curriculum at all levels to include material that would foster harmonious interracial and interethnic relations" (Drake, July 1970, pp.4-5).

But, as Professor Drake observes and as the militant blacks charge, this activity did not constitute Black Studies but rather "courses and programs oriented primarily toward teaching white Americans about black people" (ibid., p. 7) through white teachers. Some even attacked these courses as "token instruments for the legitimation of white institutions of higher education" (Wilcox, November 1969, p. 3). In the early agitation for Black Studies during the late 60s the militant blacks directed a great deal of their attacks against these courses and programs.

The Black Studies Movement: 1960s

The Black Studies movement began in the early 1960s and has continued to the present. In the community colleges, as in the universities where the movement began, the leaders were black students, usually members of a militant organization, the Black Students Union or Association of Black Students and black educators, sometimes associated with the students. Through the student organizations the leaders made demands on the college president for Black Studies courses and curriculums. Some black educators also made demands but usually they did so indirectly through the student organizations. Black educators and other leaders probably helped in the preparation of the students' position papers.

In their demands for Black Studies the militants usually attached a bill of grievances against the colleges and society. The grievances were general, of an ideological nature, or specific. They included charges of racism, inadequate education, degradation, and discrimination. They attacked the colleges and the schools for their white, middle-class, anti-black bias. Students echoed the charge of Black Power leaders that schools and colleges perpetuated injustices because they made the black man invisible and denied his contribution to American and world history. They repeated the indictment of Dr. Charles Thomas, National Chairman, Association of Black Psychologists, who said, "Education has crippled more of us than all of the diseases of mankind." Charges of institutional racism appeared in most of the position papers of the black student organizations. The Cuyahoga Community College Association of Black Students accused the schools of not relating to the interest of black students, asserting in the preamble of its position paper that:

> By teaching all history, sociology, economics, culture, etc., as if history began in the Western world, the schools have promoted white supremacy, fostered inferiority complexes, and self-hatred in Black children, and stripped the Black man of all identity other than that of a history of slavery and degradation (Cuyahoga Community College Association of Black Students, January 1969).

At Los Angeles Southwest College the complaint was directed at the traditional curriculum which was authoritarian, insensitive to the community, and unable to give the black a knowledge of himself and his position in American society and the world. Because of this the Seattle students claimed that the black people had "little chance to relate to anything else." In the students' view this kind of education has been instrumental in making the black man's plight"...one of a calculated silent existence" never offering "a significant solution to the dilemma the white has us in." Specifically, they resented being shunted to the inferior trade and industrial courses or being placed in the remedial programs (Program Number Two (2), July 23, 1969).

In addition to the indictments against the white-dominated education the black students and educators made specific demands for changes in the content of the curriculum. From these demands emerged the Black Studies courses and curriculums described in Chapter III. Black students also demanded admission to the regular transfer, technical, and semi-professional courses in order to overcome the handicaps of an education that trains them only to make a living, not how to live.

Purpose of Black Curriculum

According to Walton an early faculty leader of the movement,

> A Purpose of the Black Curriculum is to develop psychologically healthy human beings...(by redefining the Black man in his own terms in a psychologically healthy framework so that the other human beings...white, yellow, or red...are able to relate to a healthy, self-defined being (Walton, 1969, pp. 140-141, 160).

Education must teach their "true history and role in the present day society" and "give people a knowledge of self because if a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else" (Fresno Black Student Union Demands, May 1969). "Mental awareness and growth of the Afro-Americans in the perpetualization of his culture and the acquisition of the skills [are] necessary for the health and welfare of the Black Experience" (Program Number Six (6), July 23, 1969). Education must also "develop an awareness of [the] Black contribution to American history and culture," (Objectives and Recommendations of the Pierce College Campus Black Student Union, 1969) as well as an awareness of "the life and struggles of the Black Community" (Enditer, September 1969, p.8).

By creating a Black Curriculum, the militants maintain they are performing a function for all Americans by exposing "the racist foundation upon which America stands" and by placing "the Black man in his proper perspective so that an understanding of the Black race can lead to better race relations between blacks and whites" (Cuyahoga Community College Association of Black Students, 1968). "The Black Curriculum, then embodies how black people function and shows that a person is a part of the curriculum and not a spectator as is the case with the white curriculum. The Black man's relationships within the institution are as much educational as the curriculum itself" (Wilcox, 1969, Part V). It is just one example of creativeness of the black mind (ibid., p.3). Through it the person is taught "that he is not a freak but rather part of a larger international community of black-skinned, kinky-haired people who have a beauty of their own, a glorious history and a great future.... The growing popularity of this viewpoint is evidenced by...the surge of interest in African and Negro culture and history" (Browne, 1969, p.14).

Since Malcolm X taught blacks that "education is their passport to the future, for tomorrow belongs to the people who prepare for it today," it is imperative for them "to determine the type of their education and the destiny of their people" (Fresno Black Student Union Demands, May 1969). Blacks have to reshape "the entire education process, making it relevant to the community in which it is centered and to whom it owes its existence (L.A.S.W., Open Letter to the Faculty at Southwest Junior College, February 1969) in order "to survive in the present day society" (Fresno Black Student Union Demands, May 1969). They must remove "the shackles of economic exploitation and political oppression" and "to play an effective role in bringing about revolutionary change in...society" (Hurst, October 1969).

Reaction Against Black Studies

Not all educators agree that Black Studies is a desirable educational discipline. Opposition or resistance comes from black educators and community leaders as well as from white educators (Crouchett, 1969, pp. 29-33). Among the severest critics of the extremist position are some prominent black educators. Professor Lewis of Princeton yields "to none in thinking that every respectable university should give courses in African life and on Afro-American life," but he fears "that a separate Black program not academically equivalent to the college curriculum generally...reinforces the Negro's inability to compete with the whites for the real power of the real world" (Lewis, May 1969).

Bayard Rustin severely criticizes administrators for "capitulating to the stupid demands of Negro students;" and advises them to offer students "the remedial training that they need" because they were "ill-prepared for college education." Rustin asks, "What the hell are soul courses worth in the real world where "no one gives a damn if you've taken soul courses" but where everyone wants "to know if you can do mathematics and write a correct sentence." Some white professors also came in for criticism for desiring "a 'revolution by proxy' using black students as fronts" (Rustin, April 28, 1969, Part I, p.1).

A. Philip Randolph, black AFL-CIO vice-president, while conceding

it is "unfortunate that education...leaders have not grasped the magnitude and the seriousness of the unrest and discontent on campuses," nevertheless warns that:

> the use of violence...to compel universities to take favorable action in the establishment of Negro studies will create a reaction that will result in the postponement of the studies young Negroes are deeply concerned about (March 31, 1969, Part 1-A, p. 2).

Some white educators, while conciliatory in their responses, do not accept the premises of the black student extremists. The senate of El Camino College (California), in its response to black student demands, concluded "that the Black Studies program must be placed in the perspective of the overall program of the college." While acknowledging its value to blacks and whites, the Senate warned against training a large number of students "in such a relatively narrow field" (Boxer, April 28, 1968). Senate members preferred "to aid in turning out not only black artists, writers and musicians but also Black (and White) chemists, accountants, linguists, historians, welders, mathematicians," in order to "serve the cause of education with dignity, balance, and professional excellance."

Although welcoming the positive benefit of an occasion requiring a re-examination of his basic assumptions, the president of Macomb County Community College (Michigan) declared:

> It is crucial that we exercise our judgment in a dispassionate fashion, reaching our conclusions on the basis of what will serve the best interests of our institution. Unless compelling reason dictates, we are not justified in tampering with time-tested principles of academic procedures simply because an articulate, dedicated, and well-meaning group calls for change for the sake of change, rather than on merit (Agenda Item, 4.2, May 1969).

Some educators argue that if they introduce Black Studies courses, they will also have to include German, Irish, Italian and Jewish Studies courses. The advocates of Black Studies state that this argument is weak since ethnically-oriented courses in Armenian, Arabic, Italian, Hebrew, and others are already in the colleges. Moreover, these courses which originated from requests by students and community leaders of the respective ethnic groups are taught by ethnic instructors and are attended largely by students belonging to the same ethnic persuasion as the courses.

Fluctuation in enrollment is in direct relation to the fluctuations in the ethnic composition of the student body. When Jewish students cease attending a particular college, Hebrew and Jewish culture classes wane in enrollment. Likewise, for the other ethnic courses. On the other hand, when larger numbers of students enroll other ethnic courses are added. No community college, however, matches Roosevelt University's Jewish Studies program whose objectives are similar to those for Black

Studies. It is designed to meet the needs of "students who have careers or career-plans specifically related to education and social service in the Jewish community; and students who would like to secure a knowledge and appreciation of Jewish culture" (Hamilton, 1969, p. 70).

Today, opposition to Black Studies still appears but the emotional overtones are not as prominent as formerly. It is unlikely that Black Studies courses will disappear from the curriculum for, the Black Experience is an integral part of the culture of American life. Educators will not be able to avoid incorporating it in the curriculum; however, analogies with European groups although similar should not be used. Curriculum is oriented to Western and specifically European culture, not African. The Black Experience is extraneous to the historical perspective of European and American history.

Summary

The Black Studies movement of the 1960s had its origins in the South, spread into the North during the 1950s, first as a sort of renaissance of interest in Negro history and literature; and then as a resurgence among blacks for a redefinition of the Black Experience by blacks for blacks. This redefinition forms the positive aspects of the Black Studies movement. It followed what blacks considered the disappointing results of the Civil Rights movement in bringing about their admission to the mainstream of American life. Influencing the movement was the emergence of the independent nations of Africa.

Black Studies has provided an instrument for the reform and redesign of education thereby affording the Black community an opportunity to develop their societal role. Because the integrated colleges are largely controlled and operated by white administrators and instructors, it is important they understand the emergence of the Black Studies Movement. Otherwise, they may overlook many conditions which are a source of annoyance to their black students; may miss the real motivation for the insistence on such courses by black students; may lose the opportunity for an orderly introduction of courses or a broadening of the regular courses to incorporate topics and materials on the Black Experience (and other minority experiences).

Black Studies courses are needed by both blacks and whites to improve "understanding of important aspects of the nation's history and of the origins and experience of America's largest ethnic minority" (Ward, September 1969). A recent study on high school disorders by the Syracuse University Research Corporation, although confined to high schools, recommends a strategy of prevention rather than reaction and suggests "the adoption of special measures to respectfully honor cultural differences among students, the recruitment of minority-group staff members, and the more direct involvement of schools in the communities they serve" (Newsweek, October 19, 1970, p.80). Community College educators should not ignore these recommendations: they are the essence of Black Studies.

Chapter III

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, PRACTICES, AND ENROLLMENT

Curriculum Evolution

Black studies courses and curriculums have evolved from a variety of situations. In the beginning the impetus or driving force for the introduction of Black Studies came from the militant black student organizations. Nearly every position paper presented to the president of a community college by a black student group contained a demand for Black Studies. The demand may have been a simple one-sentence statement for Black Studies as at Compton College, California or an elaborate and detailed outline for more than 25 courses as at Seattle Community College and El Camino College, California.

Concurrently, many community colleges began developing Black Studies courses either from conviction of their importance or to head off serious confrontations with black students. In some colleges the Black Studies courses--Black Literature and the Afro-American in the Political and Social History of the United States--were nothing more than the old Negro Literature and History of the Negro in the United States courses. They had new titles and black instructors. As administrators saw the need or in response to student requests, other courses were added.

Whether or not the courses were added to the curriculum as a result of student demands or administrative insight or expediency, in the early years 1967 and 1968, little thought or study went into their organization. In the community colleges as in the universities, Black Studies "as a field...was accepted before it was defined, and the hammering out of a definition...went on simultaneously with the evolution of courses and degree programs" (Bornholdt, March 1970).

Present Practices

Today, without the pressures of the 1967 and 1968 period, administrators and faculty are urging that proposals for Black Studies courses be given the same consideration that are given to proposals for other courses. Community college educators including those who are receptive and sympathetic to the need for such courses agree with a pioneer in the field that:

> a curriculum cannot be developed...simply by adopting course titles, course outlines, formats or methodology by one college to the curriculum needs of another. It is essential that each [administrator]...work with [his] own resources, students, faculty, administration, and the community, to meet the specific needs of [the] college (Meek, June 1969).

This warning is pertinent. A practice common to this curriculum area, as in other areas, is the introduction of courses developed by other colleges, with definitions hammered out afterwards. It is not

intended by this statement to decry the process of studying the experiences of other colleges. This is what education is about. Rather, the statement is to call attention to the practice of indiscriminate imitation without consideration of the individual campus situations.

To help educators planning to enter this curriculum area or to expand course offerings surveys, conferences, discussion groups, workshops, in-service training sessions for instructors, summer conferences for teams of administrators and instructors were, and are still, conducted by colleges, universities, state agencies, and professional associations. These meetings may be for one day or for as long as a summer session. They may be held on a community college campus, a university campus, or at a conference center. A list of some examples of such organized efforts and their results follows:

1. Discussions between the administration and the Black Students Council at New York City Community College preceded the introduction of an Afro-American and Latin-American Program 1969. The Faculty Council took concurrent action.*

2. A Black Curriculum Workshop to infuse Black Curriculum in the College program was held at Laney College, California on December 1, 1967 (Peralta Colleges Bulletin, December 1967).

3. A committee on Afro-American Studies, administrators, faculty, and student members of the Association of Black Collegians met during the Spring and Fall of 1969 to develop an Afro-American Curriculum.** (Forest Park Community College, n.d.)

4. "Afro-American, Mexican-American Curriculum Workshop" for junior college instructors and administrators was held at San Diego State College, June 17-27, 1969. The director, Doris A. Meek, prepared Ethnic Studies, a manual of resource materials for participants (Meek, June 1969).

5. "Mexican-American, Afro-American Curriculum Workshop" was a followup of the 1969 Workshop. Tapes of some of the lectures and addresses are available from the Audio-Visual Library, San Diego State College (ibid.).

6. "Focus: Black America" consisting "of a series of special events in Indiana University...spotlighted the contributions and problems of Afro-Americans in American society." One of the results of these

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* Letter: "To the Faculty and Students" from Milton G. Bassin, President, New York City Community College, May 9, 1969.

**Letter: William Edward Sneed, President, Forest Park Community College, to John Lombardi, September 21, 1970.

activities was a bibliographic series relating to ten topics of the Black Experience (Indiana University, 1969).

Course Categories and Titles

Black Studies embodies the totality of knowledge of the black community in the United States, Africa, and of other black communities in that order of importance. In their comprehensiveness and scope these courses attempt to destroy the non-image or negative image of blacks created by the traditional curriculum; but more importantly they aim to create self-respect for blacks by building an identity rooted in American and African history and culture. However, a category or description of courses cannot capture or reveal the spirit, the inner essence, the idealism, and the righteous indignation experienced by those leaders of the black renaissance of the sixties. For this the reader must dip into their speeches and writings readily available in numerous periodicals and anthologies. Without this the dramatic success of this black renaissance and curriculum revolution will be incomprehensible.

Black Studies has been classified into various course categories. At Berkeley, courses are classified as contemporary, socio-economic, cultural, community-related history, and language and literature (Billingsley, 1970). Hamilton has six classifications: 1) The Gaps Function, 2) The Functional Theory, 3) The Humanizing Function, 4) The Reconciliation Theory, 5) The Psychological Function, and 6) The Ideological Function which stress the reasons or purposes of Black Studies programs rather than courses. As a result of examining the community college catalogues the classifications of courses used in this survey have been sub-divided into six categories: history, literature, culture, and socio-economics integrated, and minority and urban oriented. Four are directly classified as Black Studies. The fifth category is composed of standard courses modified to make them more representative of black experience, while minority and urban oriented courses are tangentially related to Black Studies. The last two categories have appeared in response to the same influences that brought about the emergence of Black Studies. As will be apparent in the description of the two categories, they bear a resemblance to the other classifications.

The titles of the courses listed under the various categories are taken from community college catalogs and announcements representing states in all sections of the country. Usually, the category in which a title is placed corresponds to the category used in the catalog from which it was selected. In some cases the same title of a course may appear in different categories in different catalogs. For example, the History of the Theater may appear in History in one catalog and Music in another.

The number of courses listed in any category has no relationship to the number of colleges offering such courses or to the enrollments. Titles were selected to illustrate the wide range of courses, the variety in the titles, and the usage of the words Black, Afro-American, Negro. Often a particular title appeared in only one catalog.

From the categories of the Black Studies courses a definition of Black Studies Courses in the community colleges parallels that used to define the standard curriculum.

History. By far the most common and the largest student enrollment is in the history group. In nearly every college with one or more Black Studies programs, history is included. Although classified under various titles, the courses essentially revolve around some aspect of the Black or Afro-American in American and African history. Some are one-semester courses either of the survey genre, of the period variety, or of the contemporary urban setting. Others are two-semester (or three-quarter courses) covering; e. g., American history from its discovery or the span of civilization from the beginning of recorded history.

The courses are subdivided into two groups: Afro-American History and History of Africa. Under each subdivision are also included political science or government courses and the occasional geography course.

a. Afro-American History
   - Afro-American History
   - Survey of Afro-American History
   - The Afro-American in American History
   - The Afro-American in the Political and Social History of the United States
   - The Afro-American in Contemporary Urban Society
   - Black History
   - The Black Man in America
   - The South in American History
   - Black People in Michigan History
   - The Negro in American History
   - The Negro in American Culture
   - American Politics and Black Self-Determination
   - Black Politics
   - Political Problems of Black America

b. History of Africa
   - History of Africa
   - African History
   - History of African Civilization
   - African Civilization
   - Africa: A Study in the Problems of Emerging Nations
   - Government and Politics of Africa
   - Survey of African Government and Politics
   - Geography of Africa
   - Contemporary World Politics (special reference to Africa and Asia)

Literature. A variety of titles appear in the sector, Afro-American literature, but few catalogs list these courses. Perhaps, this occurs because the enrollment in the literature courses is smaller. Further, English courses other than composition are not usually required in the general education pattern or for graduation as are courses in American history; and, literature courses usually are restricted to second, third, and fourth semester students who have completed the

composition course. Among the courses in this category are:

Afro-American Literature
Contemporary Afro-American Literature
Survey of Afro-American Literature
Introduction to Black Literature in America
Literature of Black America
Perspectives on Black Literature
Psychology in Black Literature
Black Culture--Its Expression (in literature)
Image of Blacks in American Literature
The Negro in American Literature
Mainstream of American Negro Literature
Black Fiction
Black Folklore
Slave Narratives
Contemporary Afro-American Novelists
The Afro-American Poet
Modern Black Writers
Black Rhetoric
Literature of Black Africa

Culture. Afro-American and African culture other than literature is the third category. These may be found under Afro-American Studies, Anthropology, Art, Sociology, and Humanities. The number of courses in this group is large although the number of enrollees is much smaller than in either the history or literature courses. In catalogs listing fewer than three courses these courses are not usually found.

a. General Culture
Afro-American Culture
Philosophical Implications of Black Cultural Thought
Studies in the Black Community
The Black Man in American Society
Black Humanities
Remnants of African Culture
People and Cultures of Africa
Culture of the African Continent
Culture of Sub-Sahara Africa
The African Image
Cult and Language of the Ibo
Arts and Ideas of African Culture
Swahili

b. Art
Basic Black Art
Art of Africa, Afro-Americans, and Related Cultures
African and Afro-American Art
Afro-American Art
African Tribal Art

c. Music and Dance
Afro-American Dance
Introduction to Jazz History and Literature

Jazz and American Culture
Development of Jazz: Afro-European Origins to the Present
Survey of Jazz
History of Jazz on Records
Music Culture of Africa and the Western World
Musical Traditions of the Afro-Americans
Survey of Afro-American Folksong

d. Theater
Afro-American Theater: Theory of Acting and Production
Ethnic Theater
Theater of Black Life in America

e. Philosophy, Psychology, Religion
Philosophy of the Black Ghetto
Philosophy and Racial Conflict
Introduction to Philosophy
Psychological Study of Afro-Americans
Black Psychology
Contemporary Afro-American Thought
Religion in the Black Community
Religions of Mankind

Socio-Economic. The socio-economic courses relate to the social and economic aspects of the black people in the United States. Only an occasional course on Africa appears in this category. Some of these courses are being incorporated in new two year technical-vocational programs such as, education aide, community planning, urban government, environmental technology, and child care. Sometimes they cover the oppression and exploitation of blacks.

Black Economics
Economics of the Black Community
The Influence of the Economic Sector on the Afro-American Black Education
Education for the Culturally Deprived Child
Communicating the Black Experience (through the media)
Black Journalism
Racism and American Institutions
Institutional Racism
The Black Man in American Society
Sociology of Black America
Sociology of Black Americans
Sociology of the Afro-American
Sociology of the Black Family
Urban Renewal and the Black Community
Seminar in Black Excellence and Survival
Social Changes in Contemporary Africa
Miseducation and Desocialization of the Black child

Integrated. Instead of developing separate Black Studies courses, some colleges are revising their standard courses to include material about Afro-Americans, Africa, and Africans. At Sauk Valley College, Illinois, "in most disciplines Black Studies are woven throughout the

fabric of the courses, and are applied intensively where pertinent. Also, in some areas such as Child Care Aide, Teacher Aid, and Law Enforcement Black Studies are more tangential than in other areas, but in these, attention is focused on discrimination and minority group problems" (Nesbit, June 27, 1969).

Many colleges have separate Black Studies courses while at the same time are broadening the standard courses. At Forest Park Community College "this is a long-range goal which proceeds side by side with the establishment of new courses."* This is happening in colleges like Malcolm X in Chicago where the objective is to become "a Black institution--one in which the educational services will be designed to uniquely serve the goals of Black people...with educational programs to promote the Black agenda" (Malcolm X Community College, 1969; Harding, August 1970). Forest Park, in its Afro-American Studies Program, also offers standard courses like English Composition, a Black emphasis; Introduction to Sociology, emphasis on racial and cultural minorities; and Introduction to Psychology, emphasis on the Afro-American experience.

Similar practices are followed in the Los Rios District Colleges, Sacramento, California and at San Jose City College, California. In the former two sets of United States history courses are offered, one of which is labeled "Afro-American Emphasis." In the latter college the Black Studies Department issues a flyer to students with information on courses in which the "emphasis is on the black perspective" and focusing "on the black point of view." Some of the courses are standard courses, others are the more recent Black Studies courses.

Minority and Urban-Oriented. Although not Black Studies courses in the strict sense of the definition, these courses are of a group related to minorities and do for the general area of minorities what Black Studies do for blacks. For example, a course in Minority Literature including Chicano, Jewish, Black and other groups is offered at the North Campus of the Community College of Denver; they cover such subjects as the composition and characteristics of ethnic groups and the relationships of minorities among themselves, with the dominant group and with the governmental structure and processes.

Since so large a proportion of minorities live in urban areas, courses dealing with problems connected with urban life are common. At Malcolm X College a learning unit has been established under the heading of urban survival; many of these courses are found in the sociology departments of the colleges. In the law enforcement curriculums, a course on police-community relations appears frequently. In many instances, the courses in this category are the same in content and purposes as those being developed at Sauk Valley College, Illinois.

Administration of Criminal Justice and Minority Groups
Minority Groups
The Sociology of Urban Development

*Letter: William Edward Sneed, President Forest Park Community College and Vice-President, The Junior College District, St. Louis County, September 21, 1970.

Urban Sociology
Urban Survival
American Problems and Issues
Urban Social Problems
Racial and Ethnic Group Relations
Profiles of Ethnology
Police-Community Relations
Minority Literature

Institutional Aims and Objectives

Institutional aims and objectives of Black Studies as found in catalogs, brochures and circulars, descriptions of courses, and in the speeches and writings of college administrators and faculty recapitulate and incorporate much of what was contained in the black militants demands.

The essence of what has come to be called Black Consciousness is "the redefinition of Afro-Americans by themselves in order to develop a healthy psychological identity to which other ethnic groups may relate in a positive, dignified, humanistic manner. Education used as an instrument for transforming culture and developing individuals can play an important role in preserving the fruits of the black liberation struggle--dignity, self-respect and self-determination" (Afro-American Studies Program at Merritt College, California, Flyer, February 1968). The essence of Black Consciousness in Afro-Americanism is often stated as the institutional aim.

To most black, junior college educators, the Black Studies courses are "an extension of the concept of liberal education" and an attempt to redress the balance caused by the failure of liberal education "to meet the needs of the minority students." Through Black Studies courses, black students expect to achieve insights into "identity problems, ego strengthening, awakening of self-esteem, reassurance of human dignity, and development of group pride."

To others like Dr. Charles G. Hurst, President of Malcolm X College, every course and every activity must be infused with the aims of Black Studies. He wrote in a brochure announcing the opening of the 1969-70 year that:

> Malcolm X Community College is to become a Black institution--one in which the educational services will be designed to uniquely serve the goals of Black people. As the community becomes more clear about the kind of society it is trying to build, we must design our educational programs to promote the Black agenda. There is emerging a degree of consensus among Black people that our educational system has to "prepare our young people to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of a society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group, and in which progress is measured in terms of human well-being, not prestige buildings, cars or other things,

whether privately or publicly owned (Hurst, 1969).

The Merritt College Catalog does not contain an institutional statement but the flyer announcing its Afro-American Studies Program defines it as:

> primarily a response to the needs and demands of the Afro-American community, a large segment of the Peralta Junior College District...It can be of vital importance to the student in that it makes available a new perspective on Afro-Americans which is not currently provided in educational institutions in America. It is a step in the direction of recognizing Afro-Americans as fellow Americans in terms defined by Afro-Americans themselves (February 1968).

The objective sometimes is a short and inclusive announcement as found in the Chicago City College Catalog:

> The College is expanding its wide variety of courses that serve to introduce students to the heritage, cultural contributions, and social and psychological problems of Black Americans (1970-71, pp. 60-1).

At Lane Community College in Oregon, the history of the American Negro

> is designed to have a socio-economic slant on the problems, successes, and failures of the American Negro. The course is designed to give our predominantly white student population the background necessary to understand the minority problems of today and to serve for the second part of the sequence, a course in social psychology of the black (Kroepsch and Thompson, 1969).

The director of Black Studies at Wayne County Community College believes that:

> a viable Black Studies program that is relevant to the needs of our community today, must rest on a concept that includes the past, present and future. The prime intent of the program must be to equip its students with the knowledge essential for the betterment of the Black Community. An historical and cultural foundation is essential, but must merely serve as a springboard to solve the problems of today and anticipate the problems of tomorrow.* (Wayne County Community College, 1970-71, p.33).

When the educational outcomes of an institution are not exclusively devoted to the aims and objectives of the black movement, Black Studies

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*Letter: V. Lonnie Peek, Jr. to Miss Joyce A. Durden, October 1, 1970.

becomes part of the educational offerings. At Sauk Valley College, Black Studies are woven throughout the fabric of the courses in the Social Science Division. The institution designed the courses to broaden the educational opportunities of black and white students and to help close the economic, social, and educational gap which separates black citizens from other Americans. The instructors in the Division who have made the problems of Black America a special concern are "committed to the progressive upgrading, expanding, and coordination of teaching and research in Black Studies" (Nesbit, June 1969).

The Afro-American Studies program at Pasadena City College "is designed to establish the means by which Black Students may find an identity and pride in themselves" and to provide "students of other ethnic backgrounds with an exposure to the true image of the Black man in order to enhance greater understanding within this society" (Pasadena City College, 1970-1971, p.116).

Many white educators welcome the Black Studies courses because they have potential for giving new meaning and relevance to the lives of black and white students. The president of Fresno City College felt the College experience was more relevant to the needs of these students and embodies a deep concern for the goals of self-assertion, self-direction and self-determination which characterize the free man and reaffirm his individual dignity and worth.

The California Federation of Teachers adopted a resolution supporting "the implementation of 'Black Curricula' at all levels of public education in California" to include "the creation of new courses and new units of study and the revision of present courses and present units of study so as to best give all students an appreciation of the true nature of the Afro-American culture and experience as well as the cultures and experiences of all ethnic minorities in American life" (Walton, 1969, p.277).

Emergence of Ethnic Studies Objectives

Institutional aims and objectives devoted exclusively to Black Studies are being supplemented by Ethnic Studies. This trend since 1969 emphasizes ethnic programs or combines Black or Afro-American Studies with Latin-American, Mexican-American, and other ethnic-oriented programs. It has made greatest headway in California, although it is appearing in other states. While Ethnic Studies is prominently featured in catalogs, schedules of classes, and announcements, in most places Black Studies courses and programs form the major subdivision of this interdisciplinary pattern (Mexican-American and Latin-American, Puerto Rican, and Cuban) courses and programs are the second most numerous components. In Arizona Amerindian emphasis is provided at some colleges on or near reservations. Asian-American Studies has had some interest, but it has not yet emerged into a significant movement comparable to the others.

At Sacramento City College "Ethnic Studies are intended to serve the needs, demands, and experiences of [its city's] minority communities." It makes available to students "a new and fuller perspective on

Afro-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Asian-Americans which is not fully provided in educational institutions" (Sacramento City College, 1969-1970, p.92).

Diablo Valley College in the San Francisco Bay area introduced a special Ethnic Studies Schedule of Classes with the statement:

> The current search for identity has led many students to a close study of their ethnic origins...As a part of their general education, all students are required to examine their American Institutions, including the contributions by and accommodations made to the many ethnic groups which comprise the complex American society (Diablo Valley College, Fall 1970, p.57).

A similar announcement by the president of the New York City Community College listed the following objectives of the Afro-American and Latin-American Program:

1. to supplement existing programs (which) fail to meet the needs of Black and Latin-American students.

2. to make available to our students sound, scholarly courses in Afro-American and Latin-American studies, areas previously neglected in higher education.

3. to enable concerned Black and Latin-American students to develop a sense of identity and expand the knowledge or their heritages; and

4. to provide an opportunity for interested students to complete a program of study which will be fully transferable to the senior college baccalaureate programs which are now under development in the University (Bassin, May 1970).

A comparison of the statements in the 1968-69, 1969-70, and 1970-71 catalogs of Los Angeles City College illustrates the transition from an Afro-American Studies approach to the broader Ethnics Studies development of recent years. In the 1968-69 Catalog the only reference to purpose or objectives of Black Studies appears in the introductory statement to an Afro-American Studies liberal arts curriculum:

> This curriculum is designed to provide an opportunity for the student to complete a two year undergraduate major in Afro-American studies.

In 1969-70 Afro-American Studies appears as one of the regular departments in the departmental organization section of the Catalog with the following introduction and list of objectives:

> The Afro-American Studies Department is a unified approach to an inter-disciplinary study of the Black Experience. The curriculum organization deals with the Black Experience

in Africa and America, with an emphasis on the latter. The American Experience presents a prospective which includes historical, economic, political, sociological, and psychological investigations of the Black Experience. The specific objectives of the Afro-American Studies Department are:

1. to deal with legitimate and urgent academic endeavor that traditional curricula have not dealt with in the past;

2. to provide an opportunity to complete a two year undergraduate major in Afro-American studies;

3. to provide a comprehensive examination of the Afro-American experience;

4. to define and encourage a new consciousness with respect to the Afro-American Experience.

In the 1970-71 Catalog, the Afro-American Studies Department is replaced by an American Cultures Department under which Black Studies courses are included as one of four ethnic subgroupings. The objectives which now focus on ethnic cultures rather than on Afro-American are:

1. to present the contributions made by the various ethnic cultures within the United States;

2. to assist the members of the ethnic cultures within the American culture to gain an appreciation of their heritage, and of their unique contributions to the American culture;

3. to provide an opportunity to complete a two year undergraduate major in specific area subject fields;

4. to provide all students with opportunity to gain an appreciation of the contributions made by the many ethnic cultures that are part of the American culture.

This trend seems to be making headway with hardly any open opposition by black students or instructors. Neither has there been much discussion. The development of the Ethnic Studies pattern seems to have just evolved. In the light of the strong position for control taken by the activists in their demands this development is surprising. One may only conjecture at the causes. Perhaps the simplest explanation for the relative ease with which this has been accomplished is that the Black Studies unit has remained intact under black leadership, has not been submerged in the new organization, and is not being scuttled or downgraded.

Summary

Colleges instituting Black Studies (and other Ethnic Studies) generally aim to overcome the deficiencies of present programs in meeting the needs of black (and other minority) students by committing themselves and the colleges "to serving the educational needs of all of its students."

Institutional aims and objectives recapitulate and refine what black student militants demanded during the Black Activism period. They emphasize positive aspects: what the courses and curriculums can do for black (and other ethnic) students.

The goal of Black Studies is to help black students. To accomplish this goal black students must gain knowledge necessary to contribute to the betterment of the black community and society through the solution of present problems and anticipation of future problems; acquire a new perspective about Afro-Americans as fellow Americans in terms defined by Afro-American; introduce themselves to the heritage, cultural contributions, and problems of Black Americans; and experience a more relevant education.

Emerging are three significant transitions in institutional aims and objectives:

1. transforming the entire curriculum to promote the "black agenda." This is being promoted in some urban colleges with almost 100 percent black enrollment and with black administrators and instructors.

2. broadening the aims and objectives of standard courses to include the Black Experience sometimes without the addition of special Black Studies courses, most frequently accompanying their introduction.

3. supplementing or supplanting the aims and objectives of Black Studies by those of Ethnic Studies. This is making most headway in large urban colleges with several large minority groups.

Formal Procedures for Curriculum Development

There was and is no one process for introducing Black Studies courses and curriculums, the process varies from college to college. Often, colleges by-pass the usual procedures in order to satisfy student demands or meet deadlines set by governing boards.

The formal process of introducing Black Studies courses and curriculums may be illustrated from the experience at Forest Park Community College, one of three colleges in the Junior College District of St. Louis. The initial request came in the Spring 1969 from the Association of Black Collegians (ABS), a student group at the College. In accordance

with district curriculum policy a committee of faculty, administrators, representatives from ABS, assisted by representatives from the other district colleges developed an Afro-American Curriculum. The curriculum was then referred to the district instructional committee, which includes the dean of instruction and the assistant to the district president. The recommendations of the district president and four vice-presidents (three of whom were college presidents). With the Council's concurrence the curriculum was submitted to the Board of Trustees for final approval.*

The following excerpts from the job description for program director illustrate the procedures of Forest Park Community College in St. Louis. They are reproduced for the guidance of other educators interested in adopting a program and contain an excellent description of the constituents of a Black Studies program.

Job Description of Program Director

> The black studies curriculum director will participate in and be a major influence in the recruitment, selection, and evaluation, and promotion of faculty members and staff in the black studies program. He shall plan and promote research of a sufficient quantity and quality in such areas as equipment/materials, selection and retention of students, and curriculum patterns to enable the curriculum to achieve its educational goals in a manner which is both effective and economical.
>
> He shall initiate and coordinate special activities and programs within the College. (This was defined to mean irregular events, such as, but not limited to bringing in high school students for a particular event or session, or a program such as the NCAA conducted in the FPCC gymnasium.)
>
> He shall be instrumental in suggesting and bringing about effective revision to the content of those courses outside the black curriculum, working in cooperation with the respective Division Chairman to effect change.
>
> He shall maintain community and public relations by accepting speaking engagements for the purpose of disseminating information regarding the availability and goals of the black studies program to the community in general. (News releases would be submitted through Community Relations according to District procedure.)
>
> In addition, he shall attend the meetings of the black studies program advisory committee.

*Letter: William Edward Snead, President, Forest Park Community College to John Lombardi, September 21, 1970; Forest Park Community College, n.d.

From this were developed specifications for an Assistant Dean of Instruction--Afro-American Studies.

Although the ethnic origin of the director is not indicated in the specifications, Forest Park did select a black to fill the position. For the foreseeable future, this is a necessary condition for the success of a Black Studies program. In nearly every case brought to the attention of this project, a black is in charge either as director, assistant dean, department or division chairman. In a college with an Ethnic Division if the organizational pattern enrolls a larger proportion of Mexican-American students, the division chairman is likely to be a Mexican-American. In that event, if the Black Studies subdivision comprises more than one or two instructors, a black is usually appointed as assistant chairman for Black Studies.

Most colleges in a multicollege district have similar procedures. However, courses once adopted by the Board are available to any of the colleges in the district. For example, North Seattle Community College which opened in September 1970 includes in its first catalog the same courses which are offered at the older Seattle Central Community College. Some districts, Los Angeles (eight colleges), Maricopa (Phoenix, Arizona, five colleges), Chicago (eight colleges), maintain catalogs or directories or banks of courses and curriculums which are considered pools from which any district college may with a minimum of safeguards, select courses it wishes to offer.

Even though multicollege districts maintain common catalogs, there is variety in the offerings based on such considerations as ethnic composition of students, administrators, and faculty; attitude of administrators and instructors; and location of the college. In the Chicago City Colleges system, Malcolm X College offers (or will offer) twenty-seven of the thirty-four Black Studies courses listed in the catalog while the other colleges offer from one to eight. In Los Angeles the City College Catalog lists twelve of the sixteen courses included in the District Catalog, East Los Angeles eight, and Valley seven.

In some multicampus districts campus autonomy is permitted. Each college develops its own courses and curriculums subject to approval by a district committee and the governing board. The common listings of courses in the Chicago Catalog is really a compilation of courses developed at each of the colleges. At the Peralta District of Oakland, California, each of the four colleges has limited freedom to develop and organize its own courses and curriculums, "subject to a district Instructional Council composed of students, instructors, college and district administrators which has overall jurisdiction over new courses, programs, and proposals of an instructional nature when in the judgment of the Director of Educational Services such courses, programs or proposals have special implications for all of the Peralta Colleges" (Office of the Director of Educational Services, 1970). Thus, Merritt College organizes its courses under an Afro-American Studies Department (Merritt College, 1970-1971, p.46) while Laney College has a Black curriculum unit in an Ethnic Studies Department including also Asian, Mexican-American and Native-American Curriculums (Laney College,

1970-1971, p.91). Merritt courses are listed as Afro-American 1, 2, 3, etc., while Laney courses are listed in the subject disciplines.

The development of Black Studies courses at Merritt is detailed in a book by a militant counselor, two articles by successive chief executive officers, and a district publication. Together these constitute a case study of the development of a pioneer program. A briefer description of the Laney process is also available in the district publication cited in the bibliography (Peralta Colleges, January 22, 1971).

In single college districts the process of developing courses and curriculums is slightly less complicated. All of the personnel involved in curriculum planning are associated with the college--except for an occasional consultant. An interdisciplinary curriculum committee including student, faculty, and administrative representation is fairly common. Legal or pro-forma approval by the board is usually part of the process.

A Black Studies course grew out of an exchange and visit by instructors and students from Golden West College, a predominantly white district, and Compton College sociology classes. After the visit the Golden West dean of instruction received a request from the students through the Social Sciences Division "to develop a course which would provide better understanding of the black man's problem in the American society." The Division developed a course "The Black Man in American Society" and, on the advice of the Division, the Dean secured the part time services of a Compton College instructor.* The course is successful, with consistently high enrollment and enthusiastic support of the students. The instructor finds teaching at this college enjoyable and exhilarating.

Institutional Organization of Courses and Curriculums

Black Studies courses and curriculums are organized in a variety of patterns.

Courses may be:

1. distributed among the various disciplines. This practice is followed by colleges that offer only a few courses as well as by colleges that offer a large number of courses and majors in Afro-American Studies. In these colleges Black Studies courses will have numbers with different designations such as Art 8, English 20, History 11.

2. grouped as a separate discipline. This practice is found only in colleges offering a large number of courses. In these colleges Black Studies courses will have course numbers preceded by the designation Black Studies or Afro-American Studies.

*Letter: William F. Shawl, Dean of Academic Affairs, Golden West College, California to John Lombardi, October 7, 1970.

Organizational patterns may be:

1. offered a small number of courses with no special provision outside the usual institutional pattern. Responsibility resides in the dean of instruction (or officer with comparable duties) and the chairmen of the various departments in which Black Studies courses are placed. Suggestions for additional courses may come from students, faculty, administrators or trustees. Sometimes, one of the instructors (usually a black) of a Black Studies course may be given responsibility for coordinating activities relating to Black Studies.

2. varied with responsibility given according to the grouping of courses in colleges with a large number of Black Studies courses.

   a. Colleges in which courses are distributed among the various disciplines usually appoint a coordinator, assistant dean, or director to supervise the activities related to the development of Black Studies.

   b. Colleges in which courses are grouped in a separate department usually follow the same practice as that in other disciplines.

3. colleges with large student enrollments in several ethnic groups are developing Ethnic Studies divisions. In this pattern Afro-American Studies or Black Studies is one of two or more ethnic subdivisions. The Ethnic Studies division director or chairman may be from any of the ethnic subdivisions. Usually each ethnic subdivision has its own director, coordinator, or chairman. At Los Angeles City College this organizational pattern is called Cultural Arts Department; at New York City Community College it is called Afro-American and Latin American Program.

4. in the Oak Park School of Afro-American Thought (a branch of the college) a student from the Sacramento City College supervises the program. It is the only case reported in which a student is in charge of a Black Studies program.

Associate in Arts Programs with a major in Afro-American Studies or Black Studies are appearing in colleges, especially those with large black student enrollments such as Merritt College, Forest Park Community College, Malcolm X College, Los Angeles City College, Prairie State College, Illinois. These and other colleges also offer interdisciplinary degree programs combining Black Studies courses with courses in other disciplines.

Associate in Arts Programs with a major in Ethnic Studies are a more recent development. These may or may not include Black Studies courses. At City College of San Francisco a major in Ethnic Studies consists of 20 units in any one of three curriculums: Afro-American Studies, Chinese Studies, Latin-American Studies or any combination of courses in two or more of the three fields.

Enrollment in Black Studies Courses

Criteria for evaluating the success of courses in terms of student enrollment are not available but administrators and faculty express satisfaction if the courses offered enroll as high a percentage of students as do other liberal arts courses.

On balance it seems that students enroll in Black Studies courses in reasonably large numbers, but fewer than the activists expected. In fact, the enrollment at one college was so disappointing that the militants asked that enrollments be compulsory for black students. The editor of Black Awareness of Los Angeles Southwest College BSU (Black Students' Union) felt that

> the students are not as interested in the studies as they should be. In my mind, they don't seem to understand the reason for studying themselves--about their own heritage. Actually they shouldn't need a reason! Yeah, they are saying, 'I'm Black and I'm Proud,' but it ends there--no willingness to learn it. Perhaps awareness is still yet to come! (Black Awareness, May 19, 1969).

A similar concern was expressed by the editor of the Chicago Southeast College newspaper Enditer (September 1969) who urged students to enroll in Black Studies courses. On the other hand, at Merritt College administrators report that they "have no difficulty in enrolling students in Black Studies courses"* (Smith, April 1969).

An inquiry by a board member at Macomb County Community College in Michigan asked,"if the student body is responding with the vigor we had hoped and anticipated?" The President replied that enrollment in the Black History course improved and that it would show improvement each year (Minutes, March 1970).

The Director of Black Studies at Wayne County Community College reported that the "courses held very well in the black areas of the county" but "they did as well as can be expected...in the white areas--which means that they didn't do very well." To improve the acceptability of the courses in the white areas, the Director planned "to utilize white instructors" whenever available.** The enrollment statistics for the St. Louis and Denver districts confirm this observation from Wayne County; but at Golden West College in California with only a handful of black students, a course, "The Black Man in American Society," taught by a black, has had an enrollment of 45 to 60 students in the four successive semesters it has been offered. Nearly all of the students enrolled have been white.*** An African History course at the College of Du Page in Illinois enrolls 25 to 30 students each quarter. About 160 students

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*Letter: Eugene Osegueda, Assistant Dean of Student Personnel to John Lombardi, October 7, 1969.
**Letter: V. Lonnie Peek Jr. to Miss Joyce Durden, October 1, 1970.
***Letter: William F. Shawl, Dean of Academic Affairs to John Lombardi, October 7, 1970.

of the 8,000 enrollment are black. The instructor is white.*

Since the community college comprises only the freshman and sophomore years, enrollment in Black Studies courses is likely to remain small. In two years liberal arts students are not able or do not desire to take more than a few Black Studies courses in any discipline. Students majoring in the technical-vocational areas are more restricted or more reluctant than the transfer students to take more than one or two Black Studies courses. Transfer students who major in Black Studies take the most subjects in this discipline. Usually a major consists of a pattern of courses totaling twenty semester units of approximately seven or eight courses of three units each. When a student takes an interdisciplinary major combining Black Studies with a traditional field of study, then the number of Black Studies courses in his program is likely to be smaller.

These considerations plus those relating to usefulness of the courses for degree, major, or transfer purposes, and the relative difficulty of the courses, availability in their schedule, instructor appeal all lead to the conclusion that black students are as pragmatic as other students when making decisions on courses (Sowell, 1970).

As a practical matter, black militants and black educators accept the fact that black students have to make their way in an America that still places high value on traditional education. A separatist nation or cultural pattern for black is at best a dream, at worst a delusion. Without admitting any retreat from the separatist position, student militants and educators advocate and initiate interdisciplinary programs for the associate in arts degree. At Merritt College, four major interdisciplinary patterns of Afro-American Studies enable a student to select 1) a general program with no specific concentration; or 2) one with a concentration in a) Behavioral and/or Social Sciences, b) Creative Arts, c) Humanities and/or Language Arts. In July 1969, the Seattle BSU proposed several interdisciplinary programs similar to those at Merritt.

Listing courses in two or more departments is another example of this pragmatism. Since subject and unit requirements in a particular discipline determine acceptability for majors, graduation, credentials, and transfer a course, such as "History of Africa," will be listed as History 27 or as Afro-American Studies 6. This double entry system, a practice of long standing in colleges and universities, does not constitute a concession to Black Studies, but is rather an acceptance by blacks of an establishment system (Lombardi, February 1970, p.9).

Correspondence with a small group of college administrators elicited more detailed enrollment information than was obtained from the Questionnaire described earlier. At the time of completing this report twenty-eight colleges responded. Since these are not representative of all colleges, only tentative conclusions can be drawn from this small sampling. Wherever available the total day enrollment and the estimated

*Letter: John H. Anthony, Vice-President-Administration to John Lombardi, October 7, 1970.

number of black students enrolled are included. In most instances a statement on the ethnic origins of the Black Studies instructors is also included because the assignment of instructors on the basis of ethnic origin is a major issue among many educators and students. This will be developed more fully later.

The data are valuable examples of Black Studies enrollment experiences among colleges with large, medium, and small student bodies; with varying percentages of black students; and belonging to the same district system. Of interest also is the comparative enrollment experiences of seven colleges over several successive semesters.

The data gathered for this project may be compared with other surveys. A New York survey for 1968-69 reported an enrollment of 2,759 in colleges offering Black Studies courses. This represented 6.5 per cent of the 42,475 students enrolled (Information Center on Education, 1970; also Chapter I, p.9 of this report). A similar survey made for the Spring 1969 semester in the eight Los Angeles colleges reported an enrollment of 1,231 in 11 courses. The enrollment in the colleges was 86,000.

The enrollment tables, presented with no further comment, are grouped as follows: (See Tables V through VII)

I. Enrollments for Individual Colleges, Fall 1970

II. Comparative Enrollments for Colleges in Multicollege Districts, Fall 1970.

III. Enrollments for Individual Colleges for Two or More Semesters.

Enrollment Trends

From the formal and anecdotal information gathered for this study, and from the information contained in the New York and Los Angeles studies, the following tentative conclusions may be drawn:

1. Black Studies courses are most numerous in colleges with heavy black student enrollments.

2. On the basis of the number of additional colleges offering courses in the Fall 1970 over Fall 1969 and the trend over the past four semesters, it may be conjectured that the enrollment in 1970 is greater than it was in 1969.

3. The enrollment is largely black, except in colleges with predominantly white student body.

4. The instructors of the courses are predominantly black with a tendency toward mixed black and non-black.

5. A favorable administrative attitude has a marked positive effect on enrollment. The opposite is true where administrators do not believe in the need for Black Studies or are indifferent toward it.

6. An even more marked effect on enrollment occurs where members of the governing board express an interest in Black Studies. The absence of Black Studies courses among the offerings of some large urban colleges in the Southern region is attributable to the opposition of board members. To a lesser extent this is also true in a few Northern colleges.

7. In colleges with predominantly white enrollment a course or two attracts students, provided the administrators are committed to the need for Black Studies.

Table V

Enrollments for Individual Colleges, Fall 1970

COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

ALLEGHENY CAMPUS

Title of Course		Enrollment
Literature of Black America		38
Racial and Ethnic Minorities		25
Afro-American Heritage		54
	Total	117
	Black Students	82

Total College Enrollment	3,400
Total College Black Enrollment	650

All classes taught by black instructors.

COMPTON COLLEGE, CALIFORNIA

Title of Course		Enrollment
Afro-American Art		24
Afro-American Literature		25
Negro in United States History		43
	Total	92

Total College Enrollment	5,900
Total College Black Enrollment	3,100

All Classes taught by black instructors.

MALCOLM X COLLEGE, ILLINOIS

Title of Course	Enrollment
Afro-American Art	30
Contemporary Afro-American Literature	160
Perspectives in Black Literature	42
Slave Narratives	83
Psychology in Black Literature	21
Survey of Afro-American Poetry	13
African Tribal Arts	23
First Course	45
Black Music Workshop	39
Gospel Arts and Artists	78
Afro-Cuban and Primitive Dance	16
Culture of Sub-Sahara Africa	28
Theatre of Black Life in America	78
Black Education	50
The Afro-American in American History	69
Afro-American History Since 1865	66
African History to Colonial Period	58
Institutional Racism	25
Analysis of White Racism	40
Sociology of the Black Family	30
Total	994

Total College Enrollment	3,200
Total College Black Enrollment	3,000

Classes taught by black and white instructors.

Note: The above courses are representative of those in the Black Studies Program. The administration considers most courses are Black Studies courses.

PENN VALLEY COMMUNITY COLLEGE

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Title of Course		Enrollment
Afro-American History		36
Afro-American Literature		23
Inner City Sociology		35
	Total	94
	Black Students	56

Total College Enrollment	3,025
Total College Black Enrollment	970

All classes taught by black instructors.

SAN JOSE CITY COLLEGE, CALIFORNIA

Title of Course		Enrollment
English Composition		47
Black Literature A		53
Black Literature B		30
Fundamentals/Composition		30
American Government		31
Health Education		55
History of United States	A	98
History of United States		
History of United States	B	37
Afro-American History		39
General Psychology	A	130
General Psychology		
Afro-American Culture		32
Community Organization		38
	Total	620
	Black Students	411

Total College Enrollment	6,500
Total College Black Enrollment	225

All classes taught by black instructors.

Note: The above courses were included in a separate schedule with a notation that they would be taught from a black perspective. Some of the courses are standard.

Table VI

Comparative Enrollments for Colleges in Multicollege Districts, Fall 1970

COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF DENVER, COLORADO

Title of Course	Enrollment		
	Auraica	North	West
History of the Black People	12	29	25
Afro-American Literature	17		
Total	29	29	25
Total College Enrollment	608	3,133	1,770
Total College Black Enrollment	103		

All classes taught by black instructors.

JUNIOR COLLEGE DISTRICT OF ST. LOUIS, ST. LOUIS COUNTY, MISSOURI

Title of Course	Enrollment		
	Florissant Valley	Forest Park	Meramec
English Composition (Black Emphasis)		23	
Black Culture: Its Expression	47	17	34
Modern Black Writers		60	
Black Humanities		30	
Black History		65	36
American Politics and Black Self-Determination		30	
Introduction to Sociology (Emphasis on Racial and Cultural Minorities)		54	
Introduction to Psychology (Emphasis on the Afro-American Experience)		21	
Total	47	300	70
Black Students	41	278	43
Total College Enrollment	5,500	6,000	6,100
Total College Black Enrollment	150	2,500	600

Three classes taught by white instructors, one in each college; the rest taught by black instructors.

LOS RIOS COMMUNITY COLLEGE DISTRICT

SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

Title of Course	Enrollment American River College	Cosumnes River College	Sacramento City College
Survey of Afro-American Art			24
Afro-American Literature			43
Literature by Black Americans	51		
History of the United States Afro-American Emphasis		70	95
Survey of United States History; Black American Emphasis	137		
Black Man in America			90
Total	188	70	252
Total College Enrollment	9,200	1,700	7,800
Total College Black Enrollment	450	170	550

Five classes taught by black instructors, two by non-black instructors.

MERRITT COLLEGE, CALIFORNIA

Title of Course	Enrollment F68	F69	F70
Elementary Swahili	57	42	79
Elementary Swahili (con't.)		17	44
Intermediate Swahili		7	
Contemporary Education of Afro-Americans	91	33	30
Philosophical Implications of Black Cultural Thought		18	24
Psychology of Afro-Americans	110	65	78
Sociology of Afro-Americans	48	70	78
Selected Topics: Learning Laboratory			20
Selected Topics: Afro-Haitian Dance			29
Racism in America: An Interdisciplinary Analysis			95
Afro-American Politics			
Afro-American Theater	45	25	35
African and Afro-American Art	92	51	52
Afro-American History	52	80	206
Afro-American Poetry			22
Afro-American Writers	129	37	61
Afro-American Writers			
The Black Man in America	124	85	26
The Negro in America	22		
African Civilization	86		
Africa, A Study in the Problems of Emerging Nations	38		
Total	894	530	879

Total College Enrollment 9,500

Total College Black Enrollment 3,800

All classes taught by black instructors.

OAKLAND COMMUNITY COLLEGE DISTRICT, MICHIGAN

Title of Course	Enrollment			
	Auburn Hills	Highland Lakes	Orchard Hills	Community and Educational Services
Breakdown not received, Black Studies Courses	42	0	171	215
Total College Enrollment	3,574	1,787	6,114	3,686
Total College Black Enrollment	259	121	470	N.A.

All classes taught by black instructors.

Table VII

Enrollments for Individual Colleges for Two or More Semesters

EL CAMINO COLLEGE, CALIFORNIA

Title of Course	Enrollment S69	F69	S70	F70
The Afro-American in United States Literature			27	37
The Afro-American in United States History	78	53	66	45
Survey of Jazz			41	34
Psychological Study of Afro-Americans			34	
Afro-Haitian Dance				23
Total	78	53	168	139

Total College Enrollment 8,537

Total College Black Enrollment 250

Classes taught by black and white instructors.

BAKERSFIELD COLLEGE, CALIFORNIA

Title of Course	Enrollment S70	Enrollment F70
African and Afro-American Art	47	19
Black Literature	55	51
Black History	71	122
Music of Minority Cultures	91	46
Total	264	238

Total College Enrollment 11,128

Total College Black Enrollment 520

Classes taught by black and non-black instructors.

HIGHLAND PARK COMMUNITY COLLEGE, MICHIGAN

Title of Course	Enrollment S70	Enrollment F70
Afro-American Literature	31	42
Afro-American History to 1865	97	71
Afro-American History Since 1865		46
African Geography		6
Black Art and Music in America		41
Total	128	206

Total College Enrollment 3,000

Total College Black Enrollment 2,500

All classes taught by black instructors.

MACOMB COUNTY COMMUNITY COLLEGE, MICHIGAN
SOUTH CAMPUS

Title of Course	Enrollment F69	Enrollment S70	Enrollment F70
The Black Experience in White America	12	65	34
The Negro's Creative Response to the American Culture	61		
Total	73	65	34
Black Students	24	29	9

Total College Enrollment 6,000

Total Black College Enrollment 600

Four classes taught by white instructors and one class taught by a black instructor.

LOS ANGELES SOUTHWEST COLLEGE, CALIFORNIA.

Title of Course	Enrollment S70	Enrollment F70
History of Afro-American	20	26
History of African Civilization	32	15
The Afro-American in the Political and Social History of the United States I	28	28
The Afro-American in the Political and Social History of the United States II	43	71
Total	123	140

Total College Enrollment 1,745

Total College Black Enrollment 1,660

Classes taught by black and white instructors.

Chapter IV

CONTINUING ISSUES

Overview

Mainly as a result of experience, reactions from students, faculty and community leaders, study and experimentation, it is apparent that Black Studies has gone through major changes in courses, curriculum patterns, and departmental organizations. This should not be surprising inasmuch as the introduction of Black Studies involved more than the addition of a few courses and a curriculum or the selection of texts and adoption of library books. It involved the introduction of a new organizational pattern incorporating courses from several disciplines cutting across departmental lines to a larger extent than ever experienced in the community college. More portentous were the various efforts to wrest control of the Black Studies curriculum in most colleges and of the institutions in some urban areas. These issues dominated the confrontation between black militants and the college educators, absorbing much of their time. The emergency character of so many campus situations was just not conducive to the development of a philosophical position which reconciled the opposing points of view.

Yet there were many educators who favored a middle course as a bridge between the separatist position and the ideal of integration that seemed so remote--and to some still seems so. One proposal involved acknowledgment of racial and ethnic subdivisions in which students were offered humanities, arts, and social sciences--subjects in which the culture of the racial or ethnic groups received adequate treatment. Such a plan might offer the opportunity for a "sensitive response to the desires of minorities to explore their own heritage, and result more readily in eventual integration" (Cass, June 21, 1969).

A community college professor found time in the midst of turmoil and resolution of issues to observe in an analysis of the dynamics of ethnic studies two opposing trends: a) towards separatism because of psychological need, b) towards independent integration, a rational approach. He predicted that the solution will come as a reaction to the conflict between the separatists and the integrationists. This conflict will be reflected on the affective level in those areas common to all humanity: a) the concept and realization of brotherhood, b) the search for a meaning of existence, c) the capacity for joy of living, and d) the quality of the relationship between members of the ethnic group in the family, community, and national environment.

In each of these areas, the political point of view emphasizes ethnic separatism--determining one's own destiny and superiority, and achieving political action and structure. The non-political aspects concentrate on universal human experience, interdependent experience, and uniqueness as opposed to superiority and relationship of ethnic groups in a pluralistic society. The author postulated three stages in the evolutionary process: a) sudden awareness, a traumatic experience; b) employment of political means to achieve satisfactions revealed by the sudden awareness; and c) the transition "from social satisfaction

and political aspirations to the contemplation of the non-political aspects of a liberal education" (Ware, 1969).

Reflection among community college educators had to give way to discussion of these issues raised by the militants; issues seriously discussed by administrators, faculty, and governing boards who often resolved them in favor of the changes advocated by the militants. The most succinct statement of the issues appeared in two memorandums, one, a report of a meeting of black faculty members, the other, a list of questions the president of the college presented to the faculty for their consideration. Both are from Los Angeles City College whose day enrollment of 10,000 is twenty-five to thirty percent black.

In the Fall of 1968 Los Angeles City was offering Black Studies courses taught exclusively by black instructors and taken almost exclusively by black students. But, these did not satisfy black militants who kept harrassing the administration with demands and disrupting the college by sit-ins, boycotts, and petty depradations of property. While this was going on, black faculty members met to discuss their role and their position regarding the demands. At a meeting in December 1968 the instructors agreed that:

1. The definition of a Black Studies Department was still in process at four-year colleges.

2. The example of San Francisco State College where black militants wanted an autonomous department was not applicable to Los Angeles City College.

3. Whatever is defined as a Black Studies Department would have to be articulated with the nearby University of California, Los Angeles and California State College at Los Angeles. Since neither of these institutions had completed the process of establishing a curriculum, flexibility was considered more important than organizing in a rigid separate department.

4. The two year college must offer programs that will not penalize transfer students. The question was stated: "How can a Black Studies program be articulated with general education so that transferable units in Black Studies will enable students to be flexible in their choice of four year programs."

5. Before a Black Studies Department is organized, an agreement should be reached regarding procedures for hiring and dismissing black faculty.

6. The appointment of a director of Afro-American Studies Program was recommended.*

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*To: All Black Faculty Members From: Nine Black Faculty Members Subject: Position of the Black faculty. December 23, 1968 (ditto).

These issues dealing with organization, transferability of courses, selection of instructors and supervision are still pertinent for colleges planning Black Studies courses.

While the black instructors were discussing these issues among themselves, the president of the college was engaged in a similar activity. After consulting with administrators, faculty and students (whenever they would do so) he submitted a list of questions to the faculty for their consideration. How pervasive and inclusive these are is quite evident in the memorandum from which the following are extracted:

1. In what ways can the needs of Black students be served better with a separate department than with an orderly expansion of the existing Inter-disciplinary Afro-American Studies program?

2. How many Black students on the campus want a separate department? How many would take courses in such a department? What courses do they want? Which do they want offered in a separate department?

3. Which of our existing Afro-American courses would be included in such a department if it is established? Which would remain in existing departments? How is this to be determined?

4. What new courses should be established? Which would be offered in a separate department? Which would be offered in existing departments? How is this to be determined?

5. Would the teachers involved teach only in the Black Studies Department? If so, how would they be provided with a full teaching load?

6. How many units in a Black or Afro-American Studies major could a student transfer to a four year college? How many units could be taken in the lower division? (Gooder, January 1969).

The City College list did not include the issues involving the qualification and selection of teachers for both had been resolved. Instructors were to be black, credentialed by the State Department of Education, and selected by the same process followed for other instructors. For other colleges and especially for the universities these questions loom large as is indicated from the following series of questions posed by Dr. Bornholdt:

> A more significant issue was the absence of a litmus paper test to determine who was qualified to teach Black Studies. Who was to qualify the qualifier? Should it be the conventional university authority? or the students--Black and White--who had demanded the programs or the Black scholars already serving the University? or the Black community? or some

> combination of these? Was being Black to be an essential criterion for Faculty in Black Studies programs? or only a desideratum? or even an irrelevancy? (Bornholdt, March 1970).

Dr. Bornholdt's statement together with the City College excerpts contain all or nearly all of the issues that may be encountered by a college in the process of instituting a Black Studies program.

Each of the issues--use of Negro, Black, or Afro-American to describe the courses, ethnic origin of instructors, concern with quality and relevance of Black Studies, and control of the educational system--is discussed in detail in the succeeding sections.

Negro? Afro-American? Black

Within the community colleges as in the community divergent opinions exist about the use of Negro, Afro-American and Black to describe the people, the courses, and the programs associated with Black Studies. Although some trends are observable, each of the terms has its advocates and its adversaries. In this short, historical sketch and brief survey of usage emphasis will be on the current practices as observed in the black secular publications, in the speeches and writings of black students, educators, and community leaders, and in the official college publications. In addition to the three terms, another, Ethnic, now coming into vogue will receive some attention. This issue, while of import to many people, did not arouse the intensity of feelings that the others did.

Negro. Although used since the eighteenth century, Negro had its greatest vogue from 1890 to 1950. During this period appeared the American Negro Academy, National Negro Business League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Negro Year Book. Today, the older leaders, especially those associated with the NAACP, are the principal users and defenders of Negro.

Those who prefer Negro do not seem to object to Afro-American and Black. Few of them have the animus toward Black that those who advocate Black have toward Negro. The ambiguous feelings of some ethnic leaders may be deduced from W.E.B. DuBois's (May 1970) defense of Negro in a letter to a high school student and his use of Black in his The Souls of Black Folk, The Gifts of Black Folk: Then and Now, and Black Reconstruction. Even in Crisis (June-July 1970) the NAACP organ, Black instead of Negro occasionally appears, this is also true of The Journal of Negro History. Despite its widespread use resistance to Negro has been "continuous and sustained" among literate people.

Afro-American. Afro-American has had two periods of ascendancy, once in the nineteenth century before its displacement by Negro and again, during the 1950s until it was challenged by Black. Afro-American does not evoke the strong antagonistic feelings that either Negro or Black does.

In the early period, African or Afro-American seemed to be favored

in such names as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Baptist Church, the National Afro-American League, the Baltimore Afro-American, and the Free African Society. In the more recent period Afro-American or some variation has begun to displace Negro. The Negro Teachers Association of New York City became the African-American Teachers Association and the New York Amsterdam News began using Afro-American, because one of the editors wrote: "we are descendents of Africans and we are Americans."

Keith Baird, Coordinator of the Afro-American History and Cultural Center of the New York City Board of Education claims that Afro-American has an historical and cultural precision that is absent from Black, although he does not object to its use. Afro-American is comparable to Italian-American, Polish-American, Jewish-American and Spanish-American. Negro, "a slave-oriented epithet imposed on Americans of African descent by slavemasters, is neither geographically nor culturally specific. Nor is it synonymous for Black; one never says Negro Cadillac" (August 1970).

Black. The great majority of ethnic leaders use Black. An examination of two popular magazine, Jet and Ebony, confirms this preference. In both magazines, Negro, when used editorially and by most contributors, refers to those conforming to the values of white society. It has only a slightly less pejorative connotation than Uncle Tom, as in "integration of Negroes with black people" (Harding, August 1970), or "back there, before Jim Crow, before the invention of Negro..." (Bennett, August 1970).

Community college educators prefer Black. In articles, Presidents Norvel Smith of Merritt, and Charles G. Hurst of Malcolm X and William Moore (1970) of Seattle in his book Against the Odds, leave no doubt about their preference for Black. On May 1970, a group of seven administrators issued "Crisis in the Country: Statement by Black Junior College Leaders." In the two-page statement, distributed by the American Association of Junior Colleges, Black is used exclusively whenever an ethnic reference is made. (Colleges represented were Kittrell, North Carolina; Kennedy-King, Chicago; Orchard Ridge, Michigan; Wayne County, Detroit; Compton, California; Mobile State Junior, Alabama; Washington Technical Institute, District of Columbia.)

An analysis of a report of the Southern Regional Educational Board on New Challenges to the Junior Colleges (1970) likewise reveals a preference for Black over Negro. In all sections of the report except one, Negro and Black are used interchangeably, but in the section containing the observations of black visitors to the five colleges studied, Negro is never used. In fact, neither is Afro-American.

Students have the same objection to Negro as do the black educators. In their newspapers, flyers and position papers they rarely use it. Although Afro-American occasionally appears, the students' preference for Black stands out clearly. Unlike the early black student groups on the senior campuses who used Afro-American in naming their organizations, community college students influenced by Malcolm X and the Black Power Movement, use Black as in Black Student Union, Association of Black Students, Association of Black Collegians, Black Progressives as well as Black Awareness, Black Call, and Black Guard for their flyers and newspapers. An exception is the Afro-American Club of Southeast (now Olive

Harvey) College in Chicago.

A panel at a Laney College Black Curriculum Workshop on December 1967, after discussing the question of usage, reported that "whether instructors should call their black students Negro, Afro-Americans, or Blacks is something the instructor can find out only by meaningful communication with his students" (Peralta Colleges, December 8, 1967). Today, that question would not be raised. "Negro is verboten, not through mandatory but simply as a prudent tactic. Young blacks hardly ever refer to themselves as Negro."*

In contrast to its sparing use in speeches and writings, Afro-American appears frequently in campus publications and announcements. So common is Afro-American becoming that a recent survey has the title, Afro-American Studies in Colleges and Universities, New York, 1968-69 and 1969-70 (Information Center on Education, 1970). A cursory examination of college catalogs confirms the educator's preference for Afro-American in the titles of curriculums and courses, as well as in references to majors and credentials. This is true in colleges with black as in those with white presidents.

Afro-American came into vogue in official use not only because it was favored by administrators who may have developed a distaste for Black during the period of black student activism but also because it conformed to the developing ethnic curriculum patterns. As Mexican-American, Latin-American and other hyphenated programs were added to the curriculum, Afro-American Studies seemed a more appropriate term than Black Studies. The administrators' desire for symmetry may have had as much influence in the replacement of Black Studies with Afro-American Studies as their dislike for the term Black.

In the community colleges there has been practically no opposition to the substitution for two reasons: 1) the absence of a strong movement toward autonomy and separatism makes Afro-American acceptable to black students, faculty, and administrators; and 2) black students became accustomed to the use of Afro-American during the periods when they joined with other minorities in the Third World activities. Even in course titles Afro-American is becoming as common as Black. It may happen as one black administrator advises, "Watch out for the onrushing term soon to be widely in commerce: African-American"*

Although so far the movement for separatism is not as strong in the community colleges as in the universities a few are becoming black in student body and administration. Again, it must be emphasized that, to the extreme militants who favor separatism, a Black Studies program implies one controlled by blacks for blacks while Afro-American Studies implies a program for blacks controlled by whites (Black Studies Committee, November 1969).

Black still appears occasionally as in "Black Studies at Sauk Valley College" (June 6, 1969) and Black Studies in the State of Illinois: A

*Otis L. Bolden, Assistant Dean of Instruction. Afro-American Studies, Forest Park College, St. Louis, to John Lombardi, October 6, 1970.

Directory (Evans, September 1969). It appears most frequently in the descriptions of courses and in titles of certain courses such as "Black Economics", "Black Humanities", "Black Community", "Black Experience", and "Black America."

As may be observed by inspection of the representative courses listed in the section Course Categories and Titles, Negro has almost disappeared. In the offerings of eighteen community colleges listed in Black Studies in the State of Illinois (ibid.), Negro appears in the titles of only four. Negro is used in the few course titles in Southern community colleges although it is not unusual to find it in an urban college with a large black enrollment.

Negro also appears in descriptions of courses with Black or Afro-American titles. This may be attributed to an oversight in editing or to preference. Sometimes in the same catalog differences appear among departments. In one, Negro is used in the descriptions, in another only Black or Afro-American is used. No example of the use of Negro in the title of a curriculum pattern has come to the attention of the participants of this project.

Ethnic Studies. In describing Black Studies curriculums, Ethnic Studies is becoming the most common term in community colleges, especially since the introduction of courses in Mexican-American, Asian-American, American Indian, Euro-American Studies. Afro-American continues to be used as a curriculum sub-heading and as a sub-departmental unit under Ethnic Studies.

Trends in Usage

From this survey of the use of words Negro, Black, Afro-American, Ethnic, the following trends are observable:

1. Black is used more frequently than other terms in the writings and speeches of the leaders (including educators) of the ethnic group. Black is preferred by students for the names of their organizations, newspapers, and flyers. Black is used more frequently in the description of courses.

   Black is used more frequently in announcements of community services programs as differentiated from the formal educational credit programs.

2. Afro-American is favored over Black in titles of courses, curriculums or programs or organizations such as Afro-American Studies, Afro-American Curriculum, Afro-American Department.

3. Ethnic Studies is replacing Black Studies and Afro-American Studies in divisional organizations.

4. Negro is used in course titles and descriptions in a few colleges. It has almost disappeared from course titles in urban colleges outside the south.

However, the smaller the number of courses offered in a college, the greater the probability that Negro is used in course titles. Negro still appears in the descriptions of courses in all sections of the country.

Summary

Negro is disappearing from the institutional vocabulary. The trend in order of use of other terms is:

1. Ethnic Studies for curriculum patterns encompassing more than one ethnic curriculum.
2. Afro-American departmental subdivision under Ethnic Studies.
3. Afro-American course titles.
4. Black course descriptions.

Ethnic Origins of Instructors

Ethnic-origins of Black Studies instructors is included in this study because it has been a continuous issue. Information is not as definitive as it might be but the tendency seems to be to assign black instructors. Colleges with low black student enrollments are more likely to assign white instructors whereas colleges with large black student enrollments assign black instructors. This is most marked in the large urban colleges that experienced serious student disturbances where black instructors teach all the Black Studies courses. In these colleges white instructors are reluctant to teach Black Studies courses. A number of white instructors have been forced to give up their Black Studies classes, or have asked to be relieved because they are unable to satisfy the needs of the students.

Some administrators in all-white colleges feel that black instructors are essential if the students are to learn what blacks feel about themselves and about the whites. Others think that "the race of a faculty member is not a criterion for assignment to academic responsibilities."

In some colleges with large black enrollments an occasional white instructor is assigned to a Black Studies course. A dean of instruction reports that the college has "no formal policy that all Black Studies courses be taught by black instructors. Our feeling is that, in general, this should be the case, but we don't exclude the possibility that in some cases a non-black instructor might be better qualified."* Another dean of a large urban college in which all Black Studies courses have also been taught by black instructors is considering assigning a white instructor next Spring. Wayne County Community College director of Black Studies plans "to utilize white instructors" to improve the acceptability of courses in white areas.** (See Table VIII)

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*From: Berkeley Johnson, College of Marin, Kentfield, California
To: John Lombardi, October 2, 1970.
**V. Lonnie Peek, Jr., to Miss Joyce Durden, October 1, 1970.

Table VIII

RACIAL MAKE-UP OF BLACK STUDIES TEACHING STAFFS

IN LARGE TWO YEAR COLLEGES, 1969-1970 (N=117)

ACCREDITING REGION	Non-Black Teacher Staffs	Black College with Black Teacher, Staffs	All Black Teaching Staffs
New England (N=13)			
Middle States (N=24)	8	9	7
Southern (N=11)	8	3	
North Central (N=29)	6	10	13
Northwest (N=11)	6	3	2
Western (N=42)	2	12	18

Many black educators still strongly believe that only a black is capable of teaching a Black Studies course. To them, "Black is an attitude." A white may be able to sympathize with a black but he cannot empathize. Of equal concern to these educators are the problems of "getting blacks instead of Negroes" and of avoiding "black hustlers and opportunists as instructors" (Pasqua, October 1969, pp.9-10). A report on five Southern community colleges recommended more black faculty and counselors because "few white employees can counsel and penetrate social barriers that have deeply-rooted cultural foundations" (Southern Regional Education Board, 1970, p.10).

A good summary of this issue is contained in a statement prepared by an instructor of a Negro history class after black student militants had demanded his removal for alleged racism. In his statement the instructor acknowledged to his colleagues that to resign "would be a breach of academic freedom" and although "a black teacher might have insights that a white one would not" the "white teacher might...have perspectives that the black would not have." But despite these considerations, and after consultation with white colleagues and students, BSU leaders, his wife, and the administration, he decided to resign--noting that all of those he consulted, except the administration, advised him to resign. The most important consideration in his decision was to help maintain good relations because "in most cases wherein

blacks and whites contend, it is the whites who must first extend the hand of friendship." Moreover:

> the BSU is certainly partially correct when it holds that for a black student to get the very story of what he is from a white person is, in the present American setting, compounding an existing inferiority complex. Even if they are not correct, in the context of our times, Negroes deserve the right to try things their own way, because a white-directed society has failed black America for centuries (Ewing, May 31, 1968).

Although not related to the issue of ethnicity of instructors, Dr. E. Clayton Calhoun expressed sentiments similar to those of the white instructor when in resigning the presidency of Paine College, Augusta, Georgia, he said:

> It hurts like hell to give up the presidency of Paine College...[but]...I am persuaded that I can no longer be its president. Not sometime, not forever, but <u>now</u> given these stressful times, Paine College should have a black president who can speak for blacks. No white man can. I do not intend to try (From address in Chicago, Illinois, September 13, 1970. Xerox).

This situation is still in a state of flux with a strong trend toward the assignment of black instructors, a trend also reported in two earlier surveys. A survey of Black Studies concluded that the trend was for more blacks to be assigned. "[But] what will be the racial composition of the teaching personnel? Negro 5.43%, Caucasion 10.86%, both Negro and Caucasian 15.21%" (Cleveland, September 1969). The New York State survey predicted an increase in the percentage of black instructors in all types of institutions from 23.6% for 1968-69 to 26.4% for 1969-70 with the largest increase occurring in private four-year and public two year institutions (Information Center on Education, 1970, p.5). A similar rationale underlies the aggressive recruiting of black instructors and other employees at Miami-Dade Junior College. The administration has set out to convince all students that they look on Negroes as equals and that every black student who walks through that open door is important to them. Miami-Dade has forty-four, full-time black instructors, four paraprofessionals, and seven black instructors as of September 1970 (Southern Regional Education Board, 1970, p.11). Forest Park College in St. Louis, Los Rios Community College District in Sacramento, and others are conducting similar campaigns to recruit black instructors.

<u>Student Participation in Selection and Retention of Instructors</u>

In many community colleges students participate as members of interviewing committees in the selection of instructors. Rarely are they given a majority voice. Neither are they given an official role in the retention or separation of instructors. The only exception that has come to the attention of this survey is at Oak Park where a student is in charge. In a few colleges, student evaluations are conducted but

usually these are for the benefit of instructors. Occasions when white faculty have been forced to withdraw from Black Studies courses were common during the activist period 1968-69; today, these withdrawals are less numerous.

Summary

Black students may become less concerned with the selection and retention of instructors as the number and proportion of black instructors increase beyond the token number common in colleges before 1960. Some observers maintain, as experience reveals, "black faculty *per se* provides no all-purpose answer for the learning problems of black students." The color of the instructor will become less important than his qualifications.

This may be especially true as the number of black presidents and administrators increase. They certainly will not discriminate as white administrators did before the 1950s. For the near term the conclusion must remain that blacks will be the predominant group teaching Black Studies courses in the community colleges.

Course Quality

From the beginning of the Black Studies movement, concern has been expressed about the quality of the courses, the qualifications of instructors, and the performance of students. Critics charge that Black Studies courses are: 1) shallow and substandard, designed for students who can not succeed in the more rigorous intellectually-oriented courses; 2) poorly conceived, irrelevant, parochial, and racist; 3) used as a forum or platform for political propaganda or for perpetuating myths; and 4) taught by instructors chosen for their ghetto and militant experiences rather than for their intellectual and educational accomplishments (Sowell, 1970).

Proponents of Black Studies meet the charges head-on. President Charles Hurst announced that at Malcolm X College the theme will be "better education than can be obtained anywhere else." "Some People," he said in his inaugural address, "would like to think that Malcolm X College will be synonymous with low standards and free rides to degrees." Far from it; but it will be different from the traditional, "Black education structured by white educators that was mediocre, encouraged failure and myths about Black inferiority" (October 1969). To the charge that a proposal for a new teaching credential in Black Studies involved a lowering of standards, the reply was: "Black people aren't about to lower any standards; what we're doing is raising standards by considering new perspectives to define 'qualified.' The existent form of credentialing preserved 'the white man's welfare system'" (Walton, 1969, pp.51-2).

That some militants during the early days of the activist period expected to take advantage of the turmoil is not surprising. The educational leaders of the Black Studies movement were alert to this and took measures to counteract the tendency to lower standards. They deplored the anti-intellectualism prevalent among those student militants

who wanted "to feel good" but opposed "homework, research papers, etc." on the specious ground that these were a "honky bag." They reminded these students that "a true revolutionary...is one who will fight to get a course implemented...but who will also attend that course and study" (ibid, p.264).

This early interest and emphasis on quality and excellence saved Black Studies from becoming a second-rate curriculum addition. Credit for this happy development must go to the black instructors (and white supporters) who kept asking themselves how they could protect the integrity and quality of instruction during the emergency when the demand for instructors exceeded the supply.* They did not try to gloss over the fact that many black students were severely limited academically. One of the most candid statements made by a group of black instructors was: We have assumed that...programs can be initiated for those limited academically; but "we have not sufficiently questioned that assumption" (ibid.).

This emphasis on academic excellence of course content and instructor qualification as the criterion was the theme expressed in a memorandum to participants of a curriculum workshop by its director who wrote:

> Academic excellence must be the criterion. Afro-American Studies and Mexican-American (Chicano) Studies must be the academic equals of long established programs in colleges and universities throughout the country in Asian, Arabic of African Studies.**

Proliferation of courses, because it implies dilution in content and quality, has been as much a concern in Black Studies as it is in most disciplines. The urge to create new courses is difficult to resist. However, evidence as revealed in college catalogs does not indicate unusual activity in this regard. On the basis of this evidence one may conclude that restraint, rather than proliferation, characterizes the Black Studies curriculum. It may be conjectured that restraint may be related to the criticism levelled at quality and excellence.

In only a very few cases do catalogs include courses on "soul food" and other topics that have been attacked as irrelevant and questionable. A few courses on reverse racism are offered in a few colleges. Language courses in Swahili or Ibo, another group under attack, are offered in a very few colleges. When enrollments are examined it becomes evident that black students are as indifferent toward language courses as are white students. If one were to judge by the number of courses in the community college catalogs and schedules of classes the verdict would be that black and white administrators have been excessively restrained, if not

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*To: All Black Faculty Members. From: Nine Black Faculty Members, Subject: Position of the Black Faculty. December 23, 1968 (ditto).

** To: Participants in the Curriculum Workshop on the Afro-American and Mexican-American Curriculum. From: Doris A. Meek, Director of Workshop, Subject: Curriculum Resources. May 26, 1969, unnumbered page proceeding p.1.

reluctant, to introduce Black Studies courses. For example, a college with a sixty percent enrollment offered only three courses for its 3,100 black students. Another with 2,500 black students offered eight, including three standard courses with a black emphasis. A third college with an eighty percent black enrollment offered five for 2,500 students. A fourth college with a 95 percent black enrollment of 1,660 students offered four courses. These can hardly be cited as examples of proliferation. Until Fall 1970, they were representative of the situation in community colleges. Data from the questionnaire confirms this conclusion. Of the 229 offering Black Studies courses in 1969-70, 223 reported fewer than five courses. (See Table IX)

Table IX

NUMBER OF BLACK STUDIES COURSES OFFERED

IN TWO YEAR COLLEGES, 1969-1970 (N=229)

ACCREDITING REGION	1 only	2-4	5-7	8+
New England (N=15)	11	4		
Middle States (N=50)	23	25	2	
Southern (N=31)	20	11		
North Central (N=58)	30	21	3	4
Northwest (N=17)	5	10	2	
Western (N=58)	13	20	13	12
Total	102	121	20	16

The early insularity of excluding white students from classes reflected adversely on Black Studies. It was assumed that black students did not want to expose the lack of depth of the courses and their inability to compete with white students. Today, this practice has almost disappeared. The trend seems to be in the opposite direction, encouraging white students to enroll.

In concluding this section it must be admitted that studies of the efficacy or the quality of Black Studies courses have not been made. This is a weakness of this evaluation. Of course, the same judgment can

be made for the general education or vocational-technical education or any subsection of these programs. The weakness here applies to nearly every aspect of education.

In Black Studies as in other studies a great deal depends upon the integrity and qualifications of the instructors. However, no one can expect that all black instructors will be superior or that all Black Studies courses will be taught excellently, anymore than one expects this for the white instructors or for the standard subjects. "If black history is taught in some pedantic manner as our book-oriented courses in white history, then black history will be just as irrelevant" (Rainsford, 1970).

A moderate critic sums up the case by noting that Black Studies courses, as well as other courses, "are neither good nor bad a priori, but only in terms of what they are actually doing." They can be "an enrichment of the mind" or they can degenerate into "an exercise in glorified parochialism." They can be "avenues to wider knowledge or ...detours into blind alleys of rhetoric and slogans (Sowell, 1970, pp.49-50).

Control of the Educational System

The more militant of the blacks, students, faculty, and community leaders, demand not only a Black Studies Curriculum, but participation in decision-making and in some instances, control "over the educational system that shapes the minds of (Black) youth" (Cuyahoga, January 1969).

As was mentioned in the section Ethnic Origin of Instructors, black educators are in control as instructors and division chairmen of the Black Studies departments in the majority of colleges included in this report. But, this is usually in the context of the overall organizational pattern of the colleges. What is involved in the larger issue is black independence from supervision by white administrators. This is in line with the still broader issue of separatism and self-determination. The extremists want to get rid of "the whole parasitical white structure" including "landlords, merchants, realtors, racketeers, and politicians, union leaders, licensing and inspector bureaucrats, university and school administrators, doctors, lawyers, and policemen" (Turner, April 1970).

An educational leader with wide influence among black educators, Dr. Vincent Harding, Director, Institute of the Black World in Atlanta believes that education for blacks

> must be developed always within the context of the needs of the black community here and abroad, and not to the needs of American space, business or weapons Technology. ...No subject matter is neutral in the Black University just as no subject matter is really neutral in the white University (August 1970).

The Black Studies Committee of California State College, Los Angeles believes: "control is the critical issue within the Black Studies program...[because]...who controls the education, controls the minds of the people" (Black Studies Committee, November 1969).

Sidney Walton, a former counselor at Merritt College, clearly stated the goal as control. He warned:

> Let no one be deceived and led to believe by enemies of the Black liberation struggle that the Black Curriculum is going to imitate the racist curricula of White America's schools. The present Afro-American Studies program was built into the white school structure only as an expedient measure. Ideally, Black schools, Black school districts. and Black universities are needed (1969, p.3).

In the urban communities with densely populated black areas where colleges are segregated or will be so in a few years unless present housing trends are reversed, control is passing to black administrators and faculty. As of 1970 about 14 non-Southern public community colleges have black presidents and in some of them black instructors form the majority of the staff. In these colleges the presidents, their staffs, and faculty have the opportunity to shape the institution in the direction espoused by militant black leaders. Administrative control is not equivalent to separateness as defined by those of Malcolm X, Oak Park, and Merritt. There are still black presidents and faculty who favor integration or accommendation. They believe that the present gains in employment practices, in curriculum revision and enrollment policies, have eliminated most of the evils for which they fought in the sixties.

Malcolm X College in Chicago comes closest to the black militants' ideal of control by the black community-students, faculty, staff, administrators and community people. It is considered "a prototype of the kind of educational system needed to solve the problems of black people" (Poinsett, March 1970). On a smaller scale is Oak Park School of Afro-American Thought established in a Sacramento black community by the Los Rios Community College District. The school offers courses in the late afternoons and evening hours and maintains a counseling service from 10:00 in the morning until 9:00 in the evening. Community participation is a feature of its operating procedure. Also, unique is the supervision of the school by a student. As the need arises more courses will be added to the program. During the Spring of 1969, students led a campaign for community control of Seattle Community College. That effort failed, but it did result in the selection of a black president and the resignation of a white board member to make way for the appointment of a black trustee.

Community involvement which has been an issue at Merritt College, California for more than five years, came to a head recently with the decision to move the college to another location. After considering a request for community control of its old Merritt College flatlands campus, the Board of Trustees adopted a resolution expanding the concept of community participation to all of the district's colleges. The four points of the resolution are:

> That a working deadline for full development and implementation be set for July 1, 1971;
>
> That greater exposure of the Board's recommendations

to the community be accomplished through a series of scheduled hearings throughout the district;

That the Board commit itself to taking initiatives immediately in developing a workable model for community participation; and

That the Board of Trustees' proposed model be developed within the framework of the full legal implications of the laws of the State of California (Peralta College Bulletin, November 20, 1970 and January 22, 1971).

The black militants and others impatient of delay forced an early decision by occupying the Merritt College Administration offices on February 1. That evening the Board acceded to the demands for community control. Thus the goal of black control as outlined by Walton in 1969 came to fruition (Los Angeles Times, February 2, 1971)

As the number of black presidents, faculty members, and trustees increase the movement for black control of segregated colleges is likely to accelerate. In addition to the 14 presidents, a larger number of black trustees, and a considerably larger number of black instructors are now in community colleges. In many urban colleges control of Black Studies programs is in the hands of black administrators and instructors. The next step, control of the total program, will follow. Malcom X College, Oak Park School of Afro-American Thought, and Merritt College may be the forerunners of this development.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

The introduction of Black Studies courses and the changes made in many of the traditional courses during the late 1960s constitute the most extensive modification of the community college curriculum since the addition of vocational-technical courses in the 1920s. And although not a major curriculum revolution, the introduction of Black Studies has had more far-reaching implications than any other curriculum reform in the post World War II period.

The Black Studies movement of the 1960s had its origins in the South, spread into the North during the 1950s, first as a sort of renaissance of interest in Negro history and literature; and then as a resurgence among blacks for a redefinition of the Black Experience by blacks for blacks.

Community colleges in all parts of the country are offering Black Studies courses. The largest number of colleges are located in urban areas. The next largest group are in suburban areas. Colleges in rural areas are most likely to have no Black Studies courses. The largest number of courses are in history, followed by English (American Literature), social sciences, the arts and humanities.

The Black Studies movement has influenced other minority groups to seek course additions to the curriculum. A large number of colleges now have ethnic departments incorporating Black Studies, Mexican-American Studies, Puerto Rican Studies, and other minority Studies. Of the minority programs, however, Black Studies continues to be the most prominent and most widely adopted curriculum reform.

Since the movement is only about five years old, the effects of Black Studies on students have not been studied systematically. What benefits black students derive will not be known for some time.

The success of Black Studies today seems dependent upon the number of potential black students. Courses are most successful in colleges with a large proportion of black students. Predominantly white colleges are more apt to develop integrated courses, incorporating the black experience in standard courses.

Enrollments in Black Studies courses have increased steadily, although not spectacularly. Black students form the majority in most classes.

The extent to which white students enroll in these courses is not known. A few comments from administrators are incorporated in the report. The general impression from the comments is that white students in small numbers enroll in the courses. In the beginning some black militants objected to having white students in Black Studies classes, but this attitude no longer prevails.

Proliferation of courses and course titles has developed. However, only a few colleges offer more than six or seven separate courses. The

most popular courses in number and enrollment are in history and literature.

Many instructors individually and in concert as a department or institution revised their courses to make them more related to the conditions of American society especially as they relate to the blacks and other minorities.

Colleges are experimenting with "integrated" courses--standard courses modified to include material on the black experience.

From the titles of the Black Studies courses included in the first four categories (See Chapter III, section on Course Titles and Categories) a definition of Black Studies in the community colleges would parallel that used to define the standard curriculum. It becomes apparent that Black Studies embodies the totality of knowledge of the black community in the United States, Africa, and other black communities in that order of importance.

The Black Studies movement has had an influence not only on other courses in the curriculum but also on its organization. In addition to the greater attention paid to black (and other minorities) culture and history in the standard courses, courses in anthropology, history, psychology, sociology, police science, home economics have appeared. These courses focus attention on urban problems, on the minorities in America and in the Third World countries, on the foods and customs of blacks and on the nature and solution of the conflict between law enforcing agencies and the Blacks.

Related to and accompanying the introduction of Black Studies courses is the increased attention to the literature of the black man and the black experience. Black student militants nearly always included among their demands "a wider variety of books, magazines, and periodicals in the school library." Sometimes the emphasis in a course was on the addition to a reading list of an equal number of books by black authors as by other writers. Often the militants demanded a wing of the library devoted to writings by and about black people.

Library materials on Black Studies have multiplied, as is evident from lists of holdings issued by community college librarians. A few examples are listed in the Bibliography.

Textbooks are in short supply. Anthologies are more common. Periodical literature is abundant.

A concomitant development with Black Studies has been the increase in the number of black instructors, administrators, and other employees. As of 1970 approximately fourteen non-Southern colleges had black presidents.

Colleges with a large number (5 or more) courses usually have a black chairman or coordinator of Black Studies. Autonomy is much less prevalent than in the four-year colleges and universities.

Instructors of Black Studies courses tend to be black although a

few white instructors are assigned in some colleges.

White instructors in most of the inner city colleges withdrew or were forced to withdraw from courses in Negro history and literature. The early black student demands for black instructors made it difficult for white instructors to teach in these courses. Some slight evidence exists that this development is abating.

Where Black Studies departments exist the chairmen or coordinators are black. Practice varies as to the placement of Black Studies courses. In some colleges they are in a separate department; in others they are placed in the appropriate department--history, English, psychology. Often, Black Studies courses are listed under a Black Studies number and a departmental number. For example, History of the Black Experience in America may be listed as Black Studies 25 and History 10.

In only a few colleges did any community college student group agitate for the elimination or complete transformation of the regular educational program. As a practical matter black militants and black educators accepted the fact and still do that black students have to make their way in an America that places high value on the traditional education.

Black Studies on the community college campus had its greatest impetus from the militant black student organizations. Every position paper or set of demands contained a section on Black Studies courses. This was usually the heart of the demands.

Black control of colleges is proceeding slowly. It is likely to accelerate during the 1970s. Nearly every large city will have one or more before 1980.

Critics of Black Studies include blacks as well as whites. One of the chief cirticisms is that Black Studies is an attempt to develop a mythology based on the thesis that black is beautiful and white is ugly.

Some practices that cause concern to black moderates as well as to the white community are:

1. indiscriminate development of courses in every area, e.g., Black Economics, Black Psychology, Black Meteorology.

2. introducing courses without consultation with students, instructors, community.

3. watering down courses.

4. using Black Studies departments as indoctrination centers for the training of militant leaders.

5. developing a black mythology.

6. creating a reverse racism.

The aims of Black Studies recapitulated much of what black student

leaders advocated in their position papers. This is a singularly remarkable phenomenon representing the first time in the history of the community college movement that students on a large scale have been directly involved in defining the goal-orientation of an educational program.

Black Studies courses are to help black students:

1. in their search for identity;

2. bolster their sense of pride;

3. gain a knowledge of black culture and life;and

4. develop solidarity with all blacks who are struggling for equality and respect.

Emerging in the Black Studies Movement are three significant transitions in institutional aims and objectives:

1. *Transforming the entire curriculum to promote* the "black agenda." This is being promoted in some urban colleges with almost 100 percent black enrollment and with black administrators and instructors.

2. Broadening the aims and objectives of standard courses to include the black experience sometimes without the addition of special Black Studies courses, most frequently accompanying their introduction.

3. Supplementing or supplanting the aims and objectives of Black Studies by those of Ethnic Studies. This is making most headway in large urban colleges with several large minority groups.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Suggestions for Implementing a Black Studies Program

This section contains a sampling of community college practices found successful in implementing a Black Studies program. Useful references for those interested in implementing a Black Studies program are listed in the Bibliography. The detailed account, in reality a case study, of the development of a Black Studies program at Merritt College, California is valuable because it recapitulates the Black Studies Movement as it emerged from its emphasis on the curriculum to today's focus on community control.

Because of the wide differences among community colleges, no single model or plan will fit all situations. Each college planning to introduce Black Studies must adapt successful practices to its own situation.

A college planning a Black Studies program should consider the

following procedures:

1. Organize a committee of students, faculty, and administrators. If community interest exists, community representatives should be included. This committee may be the regular curriculum committee or one of its subcommittees or an ad hoc committee. One college included a board member. Keep the board advised at every stage in the process.

2. Review the experience of other colleges through
   (1) catalogs - for courses, organizational pattern, curriculum if any.
   (2) schedule of classes - for number of courses offered and number of sections in each course.
   (3) course outlines - for objectives, texts, readings and media.
   (4) brochures or leaflets.
   (5) statements or announcements of president, faculty, or other educators listing issues and problems, and possible solutions.
   (6) regional, state, and national surveys.
   (7) reports of conferences on Black Studies.
   (8) visits to colleges with programs.

3. Appoint a coordinator, preferably a black, to supervise the implementation of the program.

4. Appoint black instructors to teach the first courses.

5. If the Black Studies courses are organized into a separate department, a chairman should be chosen in the same manner other chairmen are chosen--by election or by administrative appointment.

6. The situation will determine if the chairman should be the same person as the coordinator. Most colleges cannot support two administrative positions. Also, this may lead to conflict.

7. Wherever possible design courses with their transferability in mind. This makes courses appealing to white students and doubly attractive to black students. At the same time, confer with the admission officers of nearby senior institutions concerning transfer.

8. Develop degree programs with a major in Black Studies or with an interdisciplinary major combining Black Studies courses with other disciplines.

9. List some courses in two or more departments to help students fulfill subject and unit requirements in a particular discipline for graduation, credentials, transfer, and majors. For example, listing History of Africa as Afro-American 6 and as History 27 makes it possible for a student majoring in History

to enroll in the course with a History rather than Afro-American Designation. This double entry system is a practice of long standing in many colleges.

10. Designate certain sections of a course as English Composition (Black Emphasis) or Introduction to Psychology (Emphasis on the Afro-American Experience) or Introduction to Sociology (Emphasis on Racial, Cultural Minorities) as an alternative to developing separate courses. Since these courses are offered under the regular course numbers, they may be used for meeting any of the requirements for which the standard courses were designed. A variation of this practice is to broaden the content of standard courses in social science, humanities, and English by including topics relating to the Black Experience and readings by black authors.

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APPENDIX

Community College Black Studies Questionnaire I

I. ETHNIC COMPOSITIONS

1. Number of Full-Time Day Faculty Members 1969-70 _____
2. Number of Part-Time Day Faculty Members 1969-70 _____
3. Number of Full-Time Black Faculty Members 1969-70 _____
4. Number of Part-Time Black Faculty Members 1969-70 _____
5. Number of Full-Time and Part-Time Day Students 1969-70 _____
6. Approximately what percent of your students are Black?

   0-10%___ 11-20%___ 21-30%___ 31%___

7. Did you complete an Ethnic Survey during 1969-70? yes ___ no ___

II. BLACK STUDIES COURSES

8. Does your college offer any courses in Black Studies? yes___ no___
   If you responded "yes" to this item, please complete this section only; otherwise please respond only to the: terms in section III.
9. When did your college first offer at least one course in Black Studies?

   Before 1965___ 1965-66___ 1966-67___ 1967-68___ 1968-69___ 1969-70___

10. How many courses in Black Studies did your college offer in 1969-70?___
11. Does your college offer a major in Black Studies? yes___ no___
12. Does your college offer an interdisciplinary major which includes Black Studies? yes____ no____
13. How many of your instructors teach courses in Black Studies? _____
14. How many black instructors teach courses in Black Studies? _____

III. CURRICULUM

15. Do any of the course descriptions in your catalogue or bulletin note that specific attention is devoted to black history, black leaders, black culture, etc.? yes ____ no ____
16. Insofar as you know, have any of your college's courses of instruction been placing greater emphasis--since the mid-1960's--on the Blacks' contributions to and accomplishments in American society? yes___ no___
17. Has there been a concerted effort on the part of students, instructors, or others to press your college into offering courses in Black Studies? yes ____ no ____
18. Do you plan to offer any courses in Black Studies within the next two or three school years? yes ____ no ____

Name of College_____

State_____

Name/Title of Respondent_____